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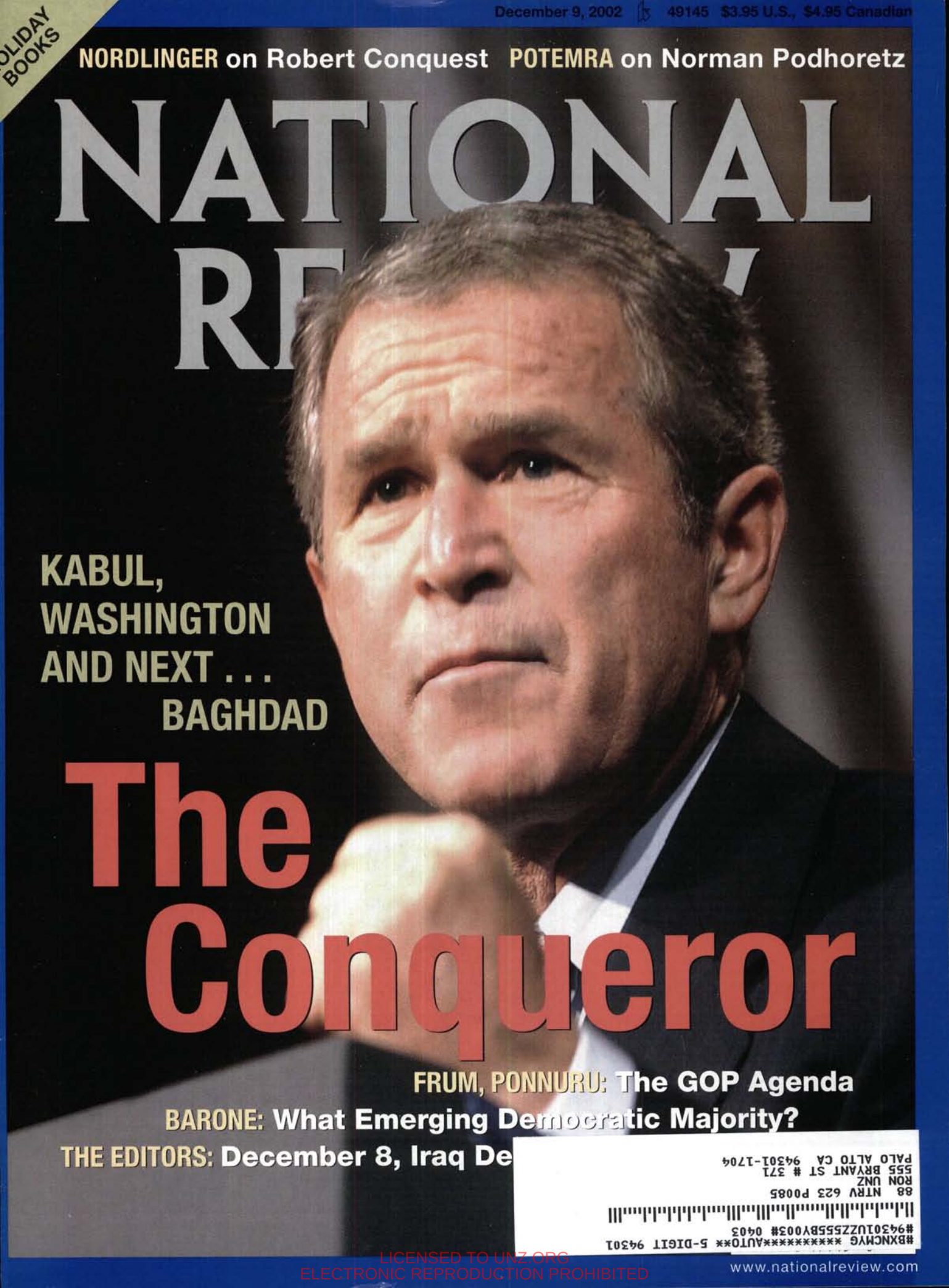

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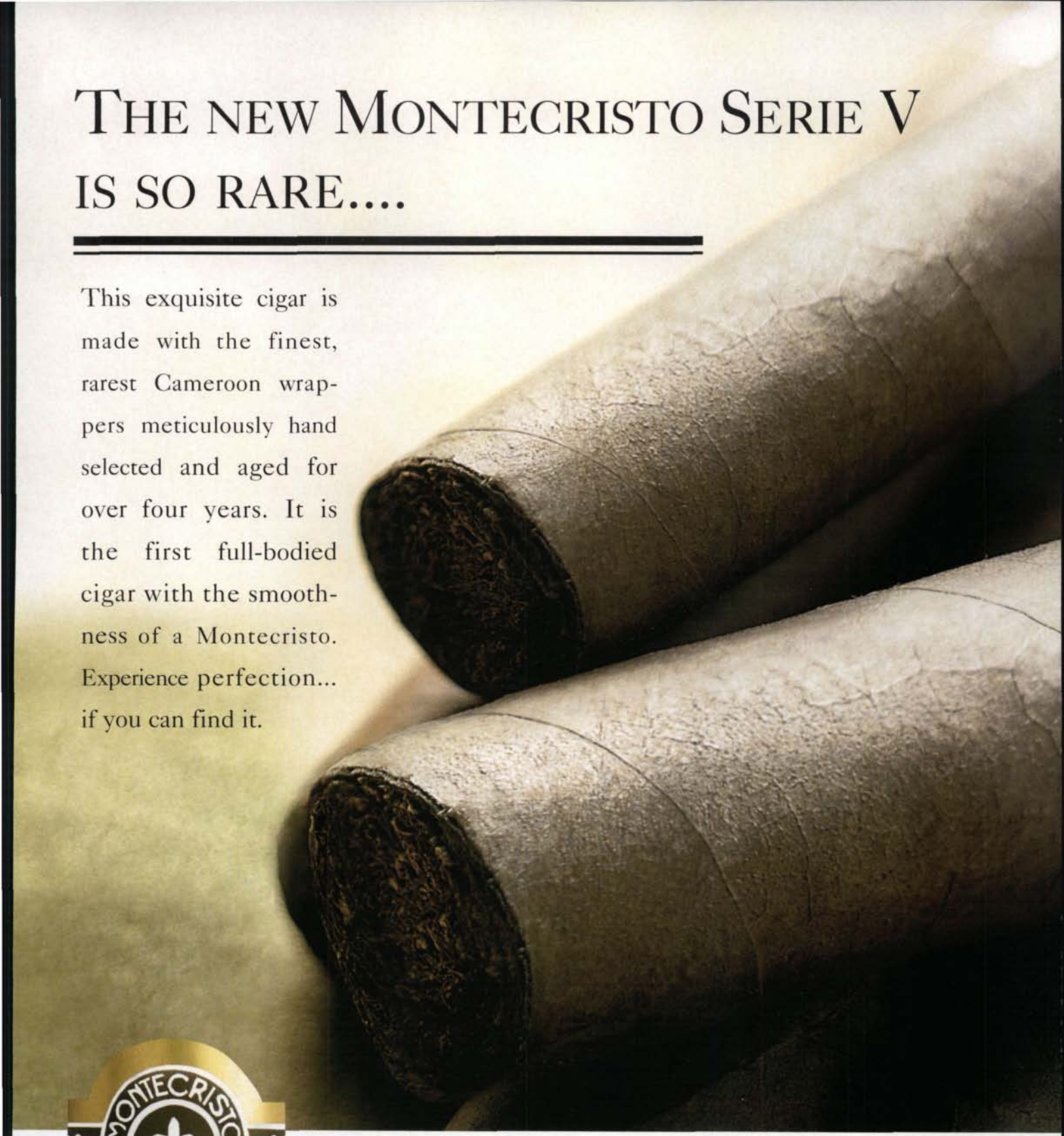

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NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 9, 2002 VOL. LIV, NO. 23

ARTICLES

SPECIAL POST-ELECTION ISSUE

18 A Risk and an Opportunity *by David Frum*
What to do about Medicare.

20 Think IRAs *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
One solution to three problems.

23 Junior Gets Frisky *by Byron York*
The ambition of young Harold Ford.

26 Sweet Georgia *by John J. Miller*
For Republicans, it's a peach of a state.

27 The Bush INS *by Kate O'Beirne*
Time for accountability.

28 Man Bites Dog *by Jonah Goldberg*
The Axis of Evil takes on canines.

30 Whose Majority? *by Michael Barone*
A Democratic thesis and (a dollop of) wishful thinking.

36 Conquest's Conquest *by Jay Nordlinger*
A man and his admirers.

Cover: Ron Sachs/Corbis Sygma

WORLD WIDE WEB
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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

HOLIDAY BOOKS

Voices of the One God—*Michael Potemra,* **page 46**
The Prophets: Who They Were, What They Are, *by Norman Podhoretz*

Welcoming the Enemy—*Mark Krikorian,* **page 48**
Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals, and Other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores, *by Michelle Malkin*

Oslo and Other Illusions—*David Pryce-Jones,* **page 49**
The High Cost of Peace: How Washington's Middle East Policy Left America Vulnerable to Terrorism, *by Yossef Bodansky*

City Desk: The Eternal Round—*Richard Brookhiser on urban passers-by,* **page 52**

SECTIONS

4 Letters
6 For the Record
8 The Week
40 Help!
45 The Long View
47 Poetry
51 Books in Brief
54 On the Right
56 What's Right

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■ LETTERS ■

THE NAME GAME, CONTD.

I have my own contribution to Jay Nordlinger's delightful linguistic observations ("'Gutter' Politics," Nov. 11).

I think back on my days of sipping Darjeeling tea on the verandah of the Gall Face hotel in Colombo, Ceylon, a half-century ago: I couldn't possibly do that now in *Sri Lanka!*

Robert King
Scottsdale, Ariz.

There ought to be a law against trying to pronounce the name of a city the way the natives do. Find me a Frenchman who can say Des Plaines, Illinois!

Mr. Nordlinger says a man has a right to pronounce his personal name any way he wants; I feel the same about places. The natives of San Jose, Ill., pronounce it "San Josie." Their town, their right.

Gary D. Jensen
Lake Jackson, Tex.

Mr. Nordlinger's piece reminded me of an old joke: The answer is "9, W." The question is "Does 'Wagner' begin mit a V?"

Robert Molhoek
Dowagiac, Mich.

SIDING WITH THE LOONIES

Paul Johnson ("Leviathan to the Rescue," Oct. 14), whom I have always admired, saddens me when he plumps for war.

For once I have to side with the otherwise loony Left: It's oil, and everything else is icing on the cake. The war will be a snap, as the Iraqis are abject cowards. But the ramifications will be gargantuan. James Fallows says, "We must not profit from the war." Oh, heavens no, but if things fall into our lap . . .

Beverly Meyer
Walnut Creek, Calif.

ONTO THE ASH HEAP

John R. Lott Jr.'s "Bullets and Bunkum" (Nov. 11) was superb, a devastating debunking of what would be a wasteful and ineffective legislative misadventure.

I hope that "ballistic fingerprinting" will now be consigned to the same ash heap as "cop-killer bullets," "Saturday-night specials," "assault rifles," "black talons," and "rhino bullets"—all reality-morphing liberal fabrications aimed only at controlling law-abiding citizens. Bravo, Mr. Lott!

Ed Krause
Ann Arbor, Mich.

FAMILY VALUES

Shame on John O'Sullivan ("A Rendezvous with Reality," Nov. 25) for stoking the flames of a debate already riddled with misunderstanding.

Allowing unskilled labor into the U.S. is similar to liberalizing trade. We increasingly consume services instead of goods; the price of these services decreases with an increase in unskilled labor. Mr. O'Sullivan's suggestion that companies that employ illegals "relocate to Mexico" becomes irrelevant when considering restaurants, lawn services, etc. The main reason our southern neighbors come here is to work and to send money back to Mexico, where they will return. For dangerous illegal immigrants we need strict enforcement of laws, but many illegals are hardworking, willing—literally— to do our dirty work, and motivated by familial duty and responsibility. What's wrong with that?

Sarah Gale
Williamsburg, Va.

THE USUAL SUSPECTS

In The Week of Nov. 11 you say that "the Democratic party appears to have registered an unusual number of dead or non-existent people" in South Dakota.

Unusual? How so? Was the number unusually high, or were the Democrats lazy in their efforts, resulting in an unusually low number? Please clarify. After all, there is nothing unusual in Democrats' registering the dead and the fictitious.

Gil Hennegar
Hiawassee, Ga.

LE MOT JUSTE

Who else in the world, had he ever run across the fact that "amok" is a Malay term, could recall that esoteric tidbit and put it to use in an item about the slaughter of tourists by Islamic militants in Bali (The Week, Nov. 11)? You NR people are stupendous!

Susan Landeryou
Ann Arbor, Mich.

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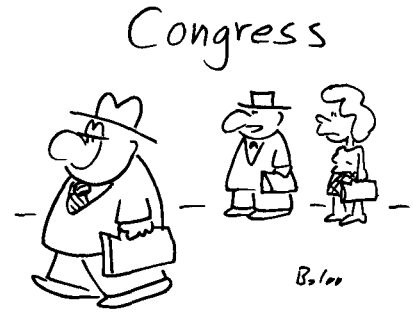
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ In CNN/*USA Today* poll, President **Bush** earns 68 percent approval rating. . . . Bush on Iraq: "In fighting a war on terror, we are determined to oppose every source of catastrophic harm that threatens our country, our friends, and our allies. We are actively pursuing dangerous terror networks across the world. And we oppose a uniquely dangerous regime—a regime that has harbored terrorists and can supply terrorists with weapons of mass destruction; a regime that has built such terrible weapons and has used them to kill thousands; a brutal regime with a history of both reckless ambition and reckless miscalculation." . . . Bush on 2004: "Should I decide to run, Vice President **Cheney** will be my running mate." . . . Bush: "If there is a mandate in any election—at least in this one—it's that people want something to get done." . . . Bush embraces supply-side theory: "Make no mistake about it: The tax-relief package that we passed—that should be permanent, by the way—has helped the economy, and the deficit would have been bigger without the tax-relief package." . . . "The Senate was designed by our forefathers to be very slow and difficult to move," says **Trent Lott**. "And, boy, they succeeded." . . . Democrats agree to permit the confirmation of two federal appeals-court nominees, **Michael McConnell** and **Dennis W. Shedd**. . . . Bush intends to renominate **Miguel Estrada**, **Priscilla Owen**, and **Charles W. Pickering Sr.** for judgeships.

■ On Election Day, Republicans took 51.6 percent of all votes cast, to 45 percent for the Democrats. . . . President's party usually loses 350 seats in state legislatures during midterm elections, but GOP gained 200 this year. . . . Two-thirds of new House members are pro-life, including 5 of 7 new women members. . . . Of 34 Senate races, pro-life candidates win 20. . . . Clinton administration official Bruce Reed, in *Washington Post*: "Democrats routinely sell Bush short." . . . Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.), on MSNBC: "We could see Bushes in the presidency well into the 21st century."

■ Soon-to-be minority leader **Tom Daschle**, in Sioux Falls *Argus Leader*: "I've been in this job for a long time, but this is the worst night I have had." . . . **Dick Gephardt**, on CNN: "This was a unique election. You had the backdrop of patriotism, legitimate patriotism and concern about national security and the president's popularity is very high." . . . NAACP's **Kweisi Mfume**, on Fox: "I think that the leadership of the Democratic party, both on the Hill and at the DNC, ought to step aside now." . . . **Al Gore**, on ABC: "Democrats should not mistake the magnitude of this loss. There has to be a major regrouping." . . . Rep. **Martin Frost** (D., Tex.) on new House minority leader **Nancy Pelosi** (D., Calif.): "I think her politics are to the left, and I think that the party, to be successful, must speak to the broad center of the country."



"He calls himself a moderate, but he's actually mediocre."

■ In 2004 Senate races, Democrats will defend 19 seats and Republicans 15. . . . Top GOP target will be Sen. **Fritz Hollings** (D., S.C.), with Rep. **Joe Wilson** (R.) as likely challenger. . . . Hollings on whether he will seek re-election at age 82, in Columbia *State*: "I'm planning on running right now, I guess. I'll make up my mind later." . . . Most vulnerable Republican is probably Sen. **Peter Fitzgerald** (Ill.). . . . Gov. **Bill Owens** (Colo., R.) carries 50 percent of Hispanic vote in winning second term, according to Fox News poll.

■ In CNN/*USA Today* poll, 38 percent of Democrats say Al Gore is their preferred 2004 candidate, followed by Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (Conn.) at 13 percent. . . . Democrat described as "close to" Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.), in *New York Times*: "I have no doubt she's planning to run in 2008. That's the plan and they'll stick to it, especially if they think 2004 is a loser." . . . Former labor secretary **Robert Reich** predicts Democrats' next presidential nominee will be Iowa governor **Tom Vilsack**. . . . **Al Sharpton** meets with Iraqi ambassador to U.N. . . . In first meeting with Bush, replacement Sen. **Dean Barkley** (I., Minn.) requests federal funding for memorial to late Sen. **Paul Wellstone** (D., Minn.). . . . In floor speech, Sen. **Mark Dayton** (D., Minn.) apologizes to GOP colleagues who were booed at Wellstone memorial event.

■ Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. **Richard B. Myers** on Afghanistan: "I think in a sense we've lost a little momentum there, to be frank." . . . Federal Reserve chairman **Alan Greenspan** says he supports making Bush tax cuts permanent. . . . Interior department reverses Clinton administration ban on snowmobiles in Grand Teton and Yellowstone national parks. . . . Pfizer employees enlisted in National Guard or Reserves get full Pfizer salary and health-care while deployed.

■ Prompted by North Korean threat, Japanese officials urge U.S. to press forward with missile-defense testing. "We should exert efforts to get the program to leave the research phase as soon as possible," says **Shigeru Ishiba** of defense agency. . . . Israeli foreign minister **Benjamin Netanyahu**, in campaign pledge to Likud primary voters: "I, as prime minister, promise you: I will expel **Arafat**. We will remove him from here. I think that this is a necessary condition for defeating terrorism." . . . Since 1998, African elephant population has doubled from 300,000 to 600,000, say wildlife groups. . . . Property prices in northern Kuwait double as real-estate speculators believe liberated Iraq will increase land value.

■ **David Letterman**: "Call me sentimental, but wasn't it nice to see Walter Mondale come out of retirement for one last ass whoopin'?" **NR**

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It may be decades before you know for sure when loose teeth, receding gums or a fractured hip demonstrate how brittle and chalky your bones have become. There is no known cure for osteoporosis and it seems to be afflicting people at increasingly younger ages. The progression towards this disaster takes years and you may be sure it is going on unnoticed right now in a substantial percentage of our population. Here are the facts that explain why the problem of calcium deficiency is so widespread.

Calcium is not easily absorbed. Perhaps no more than 10-20% of that which is found in the foods consumed is actually metabolized. There are a lot of reasons why this is so. A meal high in fats can form insoluble calcium soaps causing the calcium to pass through the system unabsorbed. The calcium in certain vegetables may be inhibited from release by oxalates – found naturally in such foods as rhubarb, kale, spinach and broccoli or phytates in grains and cereals and, of course, a supply of Vitamins A and D must be present for the absorption and use of calcium.

In addition, calcium requires an acid environment for absorption – a special problem for older people who tend to have a lower production of digestive acids. There is more. Amino acids – leucine, arginine and serine – are needed for the formation of calcium-amino acid complexes. Magnesium and phosphorous must be present in an appropriate ratio. Without all these, and other factors, you may lose a lot of the benefits no matter how much calcium you may be ingesting.

You will find quite an array of calcium supplements on the shelf in your health food store. Some will be simple calcium carbonates – others will be calcium carbonate in so-called natural forms, such as oyster shells or eggshells. You will find bone-meal, di-calcium phosphate, dolomite, calcium lactate, calcium glutonate and many others. True, they all contain calcium but they vary in the amount of actual calcium content from 40% for calcium carbonate to around 9% for calcium glutonate. Carbonate has the highest percentage of calcium but it is an *antacid*. The catch is that calcium can only be absorbed by the body in an acid environment so this may make the calcium carbonate a somewhat self-defeating exercise, especially for older people who often suffer from digestive acid deficiency. Calcium carbonate from oyster shells is no different from calcium carbonate in any other form. It is, after all, a mineral. However, oyster shells carry the additional risk of being contaminated with heavy metals that naturally occur in the oyster bed environment.

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THE WEEK

■ How many times during the midterm campaign did Democrats say that a vote for Republicans was a vote to abolish Social Security, ban abortion, gut environmental laws, and put right-wing extremists on the bench? The people voted. Let the fun begin!

■ Conservatives may have mixed feelings about Trent Lott's tenure as leader of the Senate's Republicans, but he will now have a capable team of lieutenants to reinforce his better instincts. The majority whip (number two in the line-up) will be Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, who is smart and relentless. Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania has the third-ranking slot of conference chairman, and Jon Kyl of Arizona will run the Republican Policy Committee. If this crew threatens to succumb to any uncharacteristic accommodationist impulses, Jeff Sessions of Alabama will be keeping an eye on them from his perch at the Steering Committee. Meanwhile, the Republicans who will be chairing regular Senate committees are an improvement on their Democratic predecessors and, in some cases, on their Republican predecessors as well. Don Nickles of Oklahoma has been term-limited out as majority whip, but will now become chairman of the Budget Committee—replacing Pete Domenici, whose reputation as a "budget hawk" owes more to his historical caution about tax cuts than to any disinclination to spend taxpayer dollars. Senate liberals don't know what's about to hit them.

■ Three cheers for Dick Cheney. The vice president earned a spot at the top of the list of those responsible for the GOP's triumph in the midterm elections. Last spring, when the Washington press corps was chortling about Cheney's hiding in an "undisclosed location" to duck questions about Halliburton, the vice president was in plain sight campaigning coast to coast. He made stops on behalf of 96 candidates, including 57 GOP contenders for the House. Like the president, he willingly bet his clout on long shots, and 73 of those he campaigned alongside, won. Who's representing the U.S. at foreign funerals these days? Cheney has been far too busy boosting Republicans and providing Bush with crucial counsel and support. He shares the credit for the administration's domestic and foreign-policy successes, and the president has flatly declared that Cheney will remain on the team in '04. Smart choice—again.

■ One of the big surprises of election night was Republican congressman Henry Bonilla's razor-thin victory in Texas—his seat was considered safe, but the counting wasn't finished until more than a day after the polls closed. As the GOP's only non-Cuban Hispanic in Congress, Bonilla had achieved a kind of celebrity status among his peers; he seemed to show that Republicans really can compete in areas with large Hispanic populations. Yet Democratic challenger Henry Cuellar nearly ousted him, thanks to unusually high turnout in Hispanic-heavy Laredo. Just about everywhere else, Hispanic turnout was down from two years ago, despite continued population growth. Fueled by immigration, it will inevitably rise in future years. As it does, there will be more close calls like the one Bonilla just survived, to say nothing of actual defeats. Republicans may be a majority party today, but, if so, not by much. Their position won't be secure as long as they continue to permit the mass immigration of Democratic voters.

■ The new Republican Senate could use reinforcements. In California, that means Republicans should stop waiting for Arnold Schwarzenegger to save them by running for governor in 2006. Instead, they should recruit a strong challenger to Barbara Boxer in 2004. This is a task that should unite an often fractious state party: California Republicans from leftish to right can't stand her. In her previous elections, Boxer was carried by stronger Democrats: Bill Clinton in 1992 and Gray Davis in 1998. If Bush is competitive in the state in 2004, she won't have that advantage. In Pennsylvania, meanwhile, Republicans ought to improve the *quality* of their representation. Arlen Specter voted to shrink President Bush's tax cut. After vowing in 2001 to oppose embryo cloning, he spent 2002 promoting it. We urge Pat Toomey—a risk-taking conservative who has promised that this will be his last term in the House—to challenge him in the primary.

■ It's becoming a sorry spectacle: In each of the last three election cycles, a Libertarian candidate has prevented a Republican from winning a Senate race. In 1998, Nevada's John Ensign came 428 votes short in his bid against Democratic senator Harry Reid, as a Libertarian candidate collected more than 8,000 votes. (Ensign did win election to Nevada's other Senate seat two years later.) In 2000, GOP senator Slade Gorton lost to Maria Cantwell by 2,229 votes, and a Libertarian gathered nearly 65,000 votes. This year, disaster struck in South Dakota, where John Thune came 527 votes shy of defeating Democratic senator Tim Johnson. The Libertarian in the race, Kurt Evans, drew more than 3,000 votes—even though he had dropped out of the race and endorsed Thune. Most Libertarians are right-of-center free marketers who take pride in their third-party independence. Yet they are now serving as virtual campaign operatives for the Democrats, delighting Tom Daschle. As a consequence, many of the causes Libertarians care about—tax cuts, Social Security reform, school choice—suffer in the Senate.

■ After the Republicans swept the 1994 elections, President Clinton gave a State of the Union speech that won hoots of

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A Label We Don't Need

Henry I. Miller is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

If you were designing a label to inform consumers that, for safety reasons, certain foods need to be cooked or handled in a certain way, what would it say? How about "Made in Brussels"?

No way, ridiculous and irrelevant, you say. Right on all counts. But that is tantamount to what the European Commission and parliament have decided to require for foods derived from organisms that have been genetically improved with the most precise gene-splicing techniques. This is public policy that puts politics and groundless fears ahead of science and common sense, and into conflict with more rational U.S. regulations.

Product labeling that conveys essential information is important, but compulsory labeling of gene-spliced foods is a bad idea for several reasons. First, it implies risks for which there is no evidence. Second, it flies in the face of worldwide scientific consensus about the appropriate basis of regulation—that it should focus on palpable risks, not the use of certain techniques. Third, it will push the costs of product development into the stratosphere. And fourth, the requirement constitutes a punitive tax on a superior technology.

The European Union (EU) is implementing labeling requirements for biotechnology that are more appropriate to potentially dangerous prescription drugs or explosives than to long-shelf-life tomatoes and disease-resistant potatoes.

Those who advocate mandatory labeling for genetically altered foods invoke consumers' "right to know." Just inform them what is in their breakfast cereal and let them make their own choices, goes the argument. But experience argues otherwise: The United Kingdom's mandatory labeling law has had the opposite effect. It sparked a stampede by food producers, retailers, and restaurant chains to rid their products of all gene-spliced ingredients so they wouldn't have to introduce new "warning" labels and risk losing sales.

A broad scientific consensus holds that modern techniques of genetic modification are an improvement on the kinds of genetic modification that has long been used to enhance plants, microorganisms, and animals for food. Because of the precision and predictability of the technology, the products of the newest techniques are even more predictable than—and at least as safe as—the genetically improved foods that have long enriched our diets, such as sweet corn and high yield grains.

Following long-standing precedents in food regulation, the FDA requires labeling if any new food raises questions of safety, nutrition, or proper usage. There is, however, no requirement for disclosure of the use of particular techniques to make food.

The European-mandated need to segregate gene-spliced foods will raise production costs and pose a particular disadvantage to products in this competitive market with low profit margins. To maintain the accuracy of labels, gene-spliced fruits, vegetables, and grains will have to be segregated through all phases of production—planting, harvesting, processing and distribution—adding costs and compromising economies of scale.

If enough people want to avoid gene-spliced food, niche markets will arise without a government mandate, as they have for organic and kosher products. For the present, it appears that the EU's regulations on labeling deserve a label of their own: unscientific and anti-consumer.

— Henry I. Miller

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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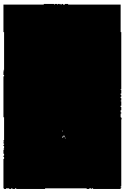

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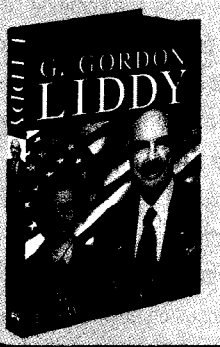

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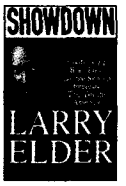

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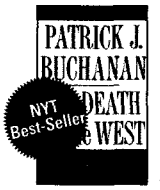

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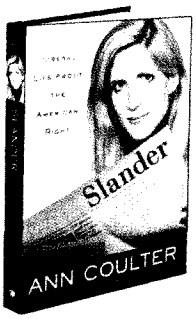

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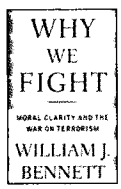

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GOP approval for declaring, "The era of big government is over." Now Democratic senator John Edwards of North Carolina, a probable candidate for president, is reprising Clinton's act. "You know why Americans think many Democrats want to spend too much money? They do," said Edwards in a November 12 speech. He called for a 10 percent reduction in the number of federal employees and contractors who don't work on defense or security, the elimination of "agencies that have outlived their usefulness" (he mentioned the Office of Thrift Supervision), and tackling corporate subsidies. At a time when many Democrats are turning to leftists like Nancy Pelosi for leadership, Edwards is staking a claim to the New Democrat mantle that propelled another southerner into the White House a decade ago. Edwards is sometimes dismissed as a lightweight whom voters couldn't possibly imagine as their commander-in-chief; it would behoove the White House to remember that similar things were once said about Clinton.

■ Election Day was good not only to conservatives, but also to the groups that support them by operating outside the framework of the GOP. Prominent among these is the Club for Growth, which donates financial and strategic firepower to candidates who favor economic freedom. It participated in 19 House races, 17 of which were won by the Club-supported candidates. Perhaps more important, the Club helped show that conservatives such as Pennsylvania's Pat Toomey can prevail in Democrat-leaning districts—if they just make their case.

■ The GOP's congressional victories around the country have delivered an immediate political win for the Bush administration: passage of a bill to create a new Department of Homeland Security. Bush made this a high priority last spring, when he proposed a massive reorganization of government that will affect 22 agencies and some 170,000 federal workers. The administration rightly insisted that employees of the new department not be subject to the intricate civil-service regulations that have hobbled so many other federal initiatives. Bush deserves praise for challenging the union bosses on this point and not compromising a principle when it might have seemed expedient to do so. Democratic opposition to the plan collapsed when the matter appeared to make the difference in a number of elections, most notably in Georgia. Whether the new department will actually improve homeland security is another question. It doesn't make necessary reforms in the intelligence services. Nor does it remove visa-granting authority from the State Department, which has proven itself unwilling to man the front lines of homeland defense in our nation's consular offices overseas. It is, at best, a slight improvement over what we have now and, at worst, a supreme distraction that keeps us from doing what we must.

■ Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D., San Francisco), the new House minority leader, represents a district in which Al Gore finished 62 points ahead of George W. Bush—who finished only seven points ahead of Ralph Nader. Republicans will harp on that political base, with good reason, so let us note one anomaly: her deep skepticism about Communist China. When Beijing downed the American spy plane in April 2001, Pelosi hoped it would disabuse people of "any idealist notions they might have about China." Well said. We will see what idealist notions Ms. Pelosi has about Saddam Hussein's willingness to disarm.

■ Time now for the Senate to confirm extremist judges? The prospect induces palpitations in some liberal quarters. The *New York Times* says that the White House is "representing the far right in the nominating process," that "many" of Bush's nominees "favor taking away the right to abortion, striking down reasonable environmental regulations and turning back the clock on race," and that Democrats "should not be afraid to mount a filibuster." Hysteria aside, what's notable about the *Times* editorial is that it evaluates judicial nominees by the same criteria it would use for candidates for public office, with no hint that the judicial and legislative enterprises differ. The word "Constitution" does not appear, even in the lower-case adjectival form. The Senate should ignore the blather.

■ Trent Lott said on a Christian radio show that Republicans were ready to ban partial-birth abortion, whereupon Ari Fleischer rebuked him—in that indirect way that White House press secretaries have—for speaking out of turn. Other Bush aides were in the press, anonymously, saying that Republicans had to be careful not to "overreach" and create the wrong image for themselves. But how is it overreaching, and how does it hurt the party's image, if Republicans demonstrate that they agree with the 70 percent of Americans who believe that partial-birth abortion is a horror that should be outlawed? In the elections just past, exit polls suggest—for the umpteenth time—that people who vote on abortion are usually pro-life. It is dispiriting when a party runs away from sound but unpopular positions—inexcusable when it runs away from sound and quite popular ones.

■ Foreign policy was always said, even by his conservative critics, to be Al Gore's strongest suit. But now the once and perhaps future presidential candidate tells *Time* that "our foreign policy, based on an openly proclaimed intention to dominate the world, is a recipe for getting our country in some of the worst trouble it's ever been in." This from a man who served in an administration whose secretary of state proclaimed us the "indispensable" nation, while she and the commander-in-chief frittered away our power in operations that were arguably frivolous (Bosnia, Kosovo, Haiti) or disastrously half-hearted (Somalia). Now that we are at war and under attack, Al Gore wants us to back down? Time for the Democrats to find someone better, if they can.

■ U.S. Catholic bishops, unable to discipline priestly molesters and the bishops who protected them, have turned their attention to Iraq. "[T]he strict conditions in Catholic teaching" relating to just war have not been met, the bishops said. The bishops stretch the requirement that war be declared by a legitimate authority to include "some form of international sanction," which is U.N. base-stealing. They say that a war's "unpredictable consequences" violate the requirement that

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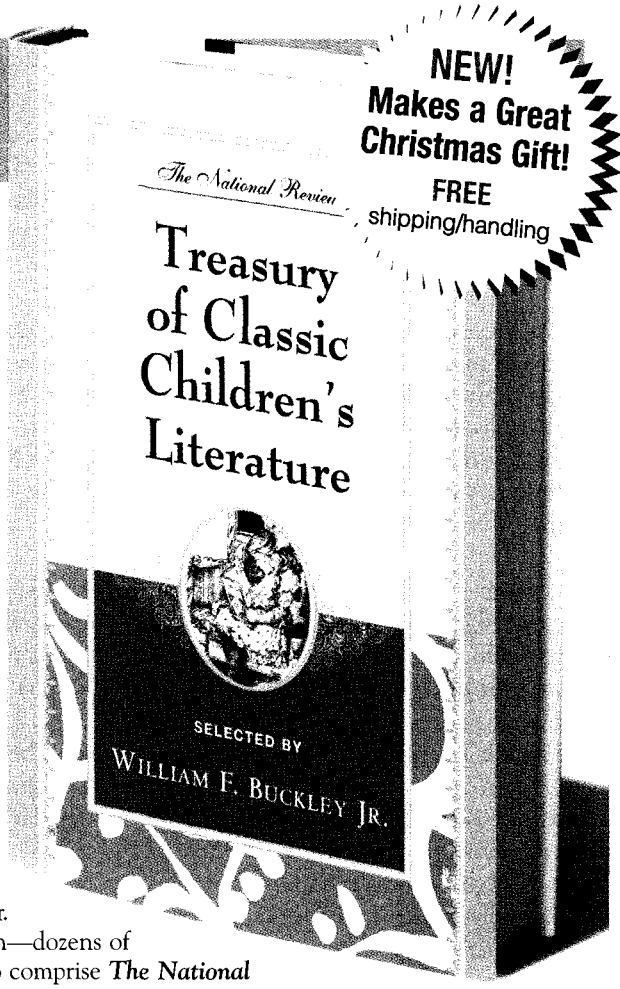

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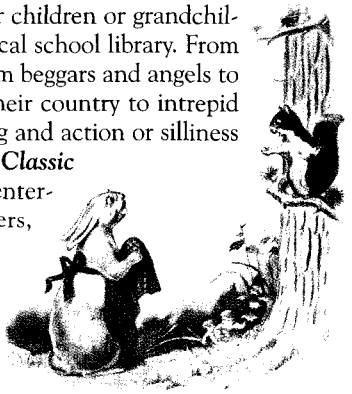

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there be a probability of victory (then Churchill should have thrown in the towel, since his war brought the Soviets into central Europe, and fatally weakened the British Empire). Finally, the bishops urged that "the lives of Iraqi men, women, and children should be valued as we would the lives of . . . citizens of our own country." If citizens of our own country were in bondage to a murderous despot, we would try to liberate them. Once again the shepherds fail their flock.

■ Among the six al-Qaeda terrorists killed by a Predator drone in Yemen last month was an American citizen, Kamal Derwish, ringleader of the Lackawanna, N.Y., sleeper cell. "Derwish was a very religious man, but obviously no one here is going to like that he was in that car with an al-Qaeda leader," said one New York Muslim. A welcome sentiment from that community. May it spread.

■ The example of a single brave man, Hashem Aghajari, is shaking the Islamic revolution in Iran. An academic historian, Aghajari is also a war hero who lost his right leg in the war with Iraq. Last June he delivered a public lecture calling for political and religious reform. This came at a time when Iran's reactionary Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, was already engaged in a power struggle with Ayatollah Mohammad Khatami, the country's president and head of the legislature, and by reputation a closet reformer. Accused by hardliners of blasphemy, Aghajari was tried on November 6 behind closed doors in a religious court and sentenced to death by hanging. Daring the clerics to do their worst, he is refusing to appeal. Thousands of students on campuses throughout the country have demonstrated in support of him, using slogans such as "Death to the Taliban in Kabul and Tehran." Hundreds of professors have petitioned Ayatollah Khamenei to intervene in the judicial process on Aghajari's behalf. He is reported to have done so, while also calling out paramilitary units and threatening the students with force. Similar veering between promised shows of strength and flagrant admission of weakness brought down the Shah not so long ago.

■ "Hu's not bad," mumbled China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping ten years ago. Thus began the ascent of Hu Jintao, who seems now to have been definitely selected as the replacement for Jiang Zemin as head of the Chinese Communist party, and standard-bearer of the "fourth generation" of party leaders. Hu is not known to have any opinions. But this does not matter much, as there is no disagreement among China's leaders about large national policies. At home, economic reform coupled with savage repression of dissidents, religious minorities, and seekers of independence in Tibet and Turkestan has proved successful. Abroad, the pursuit of good relations with America and a non-confrontational approach to issues with neighboring countries has likewise kept the nation growing and out of trouble. A population pleased with the improved standard of living in recent years, and still mindful of the horrors of the Mao Tse-tung period, is inclined to give the Communists the benefit of the doubt. Even if they were not so inclined, it would make no difference, as their opinions are not sought by the decision-makers of Beijing.

■ Five years after the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, her malign spirit continues to haunt the House of Windsor. Most recently, Paul Burrell, a former butler to the Princess, was brought to trial on charges of having stolen 300-odd items of her property. The case against Mr. Burrell collapsed, however, when the Queen herself recalled his telling her that he was taking the items for safekeeping. Understandably annoyed at the inconvenience of having been arrested and tried, Mr. Burrell sold his story to a London tabloid newspaper, embellishing it—no doubt under the hearty encouragement of that newspaper's editor—with many lurid details about life at the palace, including allegations that there had been an incident of homosexual rape on the Prince of Wales's staff. Oddly, Americans were less pleased at the discomfiture of the monarchy than were Britons. Barbara Walters cancelled plans to interview the renegade butler, and when Mr. Burrell visited New York, a local newspaper denounced him in the strongest terms it could think of, calling him (gasp!) a cheap tipper.

■ I. F. Stone, the Marxist muckraker who did all of his "independent" reporting by borrowing from the public record and who fabricated American war crimes in Korea, was hailed as a "journalist's journalist" by ABC's Peter Jennings, the "conscience of investigative journalism" by the *Los Angeles Times*, and "the reporter who taught us to penetrate the squid-ink of official truth" by Anthony Lewis. Meanwhile, poor Matt Drudge can't get an ounce of respect from such gentry. Because Drudge links to items in the public record, he is a "recycler." Because he investigates stories people want to learn about, he is a "gossip." Because he thinks the elite media can go suck eggs, he is a "loser." Because he famously got one story wrong—about Sid Blumenthal—he is unreliable and shoddy. Poor Matt Drudge has had to soldier on as the website of record, amassing an ever-growing audience and influence that dwarfs the Internet endeavors of the media giants. In November, the *Drudge Report* announced that it had passed the 1 billion page-view marker—a staggering hurdle and a sign that all of those post–Monica Lewinsky obituaries were premature. Congratulations, Drudge.

■ Criminal-defense attorney Lynne Stewart last made the news in April, when she was indicted for passing messages between client Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman—who is currently serving a life sentence for his involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing—and his terrorist associates. In November, Stewart resurfaced at Stanford, where officials invited her to appear as David W. Mills Public Interest Visiting Mentor at a conference entitled, of all things, "Shaking the Foundations." News of the honorific circulated on the Internet, and within days Stanford's dean had rescinded it, explaining, "It has come to my attention that Ms. Stewart has expressed sympathy for and tacit endorsement of the use of directed violence to achieve social change." Harvard officials offered a similar excuse when they canceled a reading by anti-Semitic Oxford poet Tom Paulin, saying they had invited him "on the

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basis of his poetic accomplishment alone, and in ignorance of the views that he has expressed." Could our major universities do some research on the people they invite to instruct our youth?

■ Two years ago Roy Moore pledged, in a campaign to be chief justice of the Alabama supreme court, to bring the Ten Commandments to the courthouse. And that he did: all 5,280 pounds of them, in a stone pedestal surmounted by a stone book. A federal judge has ruled that the monumental Commandments must go, since they violate the separation of church and state. Moore's monument also says, "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God." Does the Declaration, too, violate the First Amendment? John Ashcroft will be known forever for covering the bare breasts of the goddess of Justice (he didn't, but that's another story). The prudes of first principles are far more stringent.

■ The Fort MacArthur Military Museum in San Pedro, Calif., had a great idea for a fundraiser: On December 7 they would have a special anniversary showing of the movie *Tora! Tora! Tora!* at a local theater. The 1970 movie, a joint American and Japanese production, is an account—said to be exceptionally accurate and fair-minded—of the Pearl Harbor attack. Along with the showing of the movie, the veterans and museum members organizing the December 7 event planned to bring in vintage cars, an old WWII searchlight, and other period pieces. Pearl Harbor survivors would also be on hand. This was too much for Los Angeles city councilwoman Janice Hahn, who felt it would be "insensitive" to local Americans of Japanese descent, and tried to lean on the trustees of the theater where the event was to take place. But wait a minute: Aren't Japanese-Americans, like, . . . *American?* So wasn't the attack on Pearl Harbor an attack on their country, too? Do not they, in fact, include among their numbers many veterans of the U.S. armed forces? (They certainly do: Japanese-Americans fought for their country with great distinction.) Give us a break.

■ *New York* magazine reports that residents of 61 Jane Street, a Greenwich Village apartment building, object to a flag that went up in the lobby after 9/11. "Many of us moved to the Village because it was a bastion of liberalism," said one. This is the kind of thing that would have driven Christopher Hitchens to drink, if he hadn't been there already.

■ Election Day 2002 can be taken as marking the end of the Clinton Era. To understand what this means, one ought to turn to a valuable symposium on the Clinton presidency that appeared in the Fall 2001 edition of the historical journal *Continuity*. The symposium featured some of the leading conservative historians of our time, and they rose to the occasion with devastating characterizations of that low dishonest decade. For example, George H. Nash explained why the baby boomers stuck with President Clinton, all the way: "Clinton was not just a mascot; he was a mirror. He could not, therefore, be allowed to fail." Which prompts the poignant thought, post–9/11, that the American character has many faces; the current reflection in that mirror is the chastened—yet also deeper, nobler, and more idealistic—face that we always hoped lay underneath the national rictus of the 1990s.

■ Martha Burk of the National Council of Women's Organizations is campaigning to make Augusta National admit women members—a campaign lavishly covered in the *New York Times*. Trouble is, Burk has few followers. Recent numbers from pollster Kellyanne Conway paint a revealing portrait: Not only do most Americans say Augusta should be left alone; not only do most *women* say Augusta should be left alone—but most members of *the National Council of Women's Organizations* agree that Augusta has a right to its own membership policy. Martha Burk made an air shot.

■ Every year the amateur hockey association of Canada's New Brunswick province votes an MVP award for younger players. This year the award went to a lad named Lucas Martin. This left 16-year-old Steven Croteau disgruntled, or at any rate far from gruntled. Steven felt the MVP award should have been his. Steven's father feels the same way, to such a degree that he has now sued the hockey association, seeking $300,000 for "psychological and punitive damages" suffered by his son. Should he win his suit, Mr. Croteau also wants Steven to have a guaranteed place representing his province on the roster for the Canada Winter Games. Canada is the country that could have had English government, French culture, and American know-how, but chose instead to have English know-how, French government, and American culture. Still, it is sad to see that the most deplorable aspect of modern American culture—the belief that one's personal unhappiness must be someone else's fault—has seeped north of the border.

■ Planned Parenthood is sponsoring an art competition in honor of the 30th anniversary of *Roe* v. *Wade*. Contest rules stipulate, however, that "Children under age 18 must have a parent or legal guardian's permission to submit their designs and for us to publish it along with their name." We're glad Planned Parenthood thinks there's *something* children under age 18 should be required to ask their parents about before doing.

■ For sheer depravity, few episodes in the annals of crime can compare with the Moors Murders that stunned Britain in the early 1960s. Ian Brady and his girlfriend Myra Hindley were eventually convicted of kidnapping, torturing, and killing various children and teenagers, whose bodies they buried on remote moors in the north of England. Brady and Hindley just barely escaped being hanged: Capital punishment had been abolished in Britain by Act of Parliament four weeks before their arrest in 1965. They were sentenced to life imprisonment. From the beginning of her sentence, though, Hindley filed appeals and protested her innocence. When appeals failed, she began a long campaign on her own behalf for a speedy parole, issuing declarations of sorrow and remorse, and claiming to have rediscovered her Catholic faith. She was supported by a legion of do-gooders, and eventually, in June this year, won a favorable, though not decisive, ruling from the European Court

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of Human Rights. To forestall her possible release, police began preparing fresh charges against Hindley, based on murders that did not form part of her original conviction, but that she had confessed to in 1987. At this point in the game, on November 15, Myra Hindley died from natural causes at age 60. In one of her recent statements, Hindley regretted that she had not been hanged following her conviction in 1966. We share that regret.

■ They say Osama bin Laden is alive. Good—we can still hang *him*.

AT WAR

Mark Your Calendar

IT'S been just a few short days, and Iraq has already violated Security Council resolution 1441—twice. It violated the resolution in the very letter that purported to accept it. The resolution required Iraq to comply "fully"; Iraq responded that it would comply only to the extent that arms inspectors respect Iraq's "security, independence, and sovereignty."

The second violation occurred two days after Iraq's "acceptance," when Iraq fired on U.S. and British aircraft patrolling the southern no-fly zone—despite the resolution's order that Iraq cease hostile actions against Security Council member states enforcing prior Security Council resolutions. But the true test—for both Iraq and the Bush administration—comes on December 8. That day, the 30th day after the passage of Resolution 1441, is the deadline for Iraq to provide the Security Council with a complete and truthful description of every weapon of mass destruction in its arsenal and every delivery system. The resolution defines any untruth or any omission in this inventory as a "material breach"—that is, a justification for war.

The U.N. of course has a long history of indulgence toward Iraqi deceit. And when Iraq submits its long list of lies on December 8, many U.N. member states will want to debate what the meaning of "omission" is. President Bush has, maybe too generously, agreed to join the debate—but he has rightly refused to be bound by it. "The United States has agreed to discuss any material breach with the Security Council, but without jeopardizing our freedom of action to defend our country." It is Americans and America's allies who are most directly and immediately threatened by Saddam's weapons—it must be America and its allies who determine whether Saddam Hussein has told the truth about his ability to inflict mass death.

On Iraq, President Bush has consistently said the right thing. Now comes the test. Do our words mean anything? If they do, there will be no return visits to the United Nations for new authority after December 8, no more rounds of this dreary, deadly game of "Mother-may-I-look-in-the-cupboard?" between Saddam and the U.N.'s inspectors. It will be time to act. We would encourage the U.N. inspectors already en route to Iraq to pack for a short visit—and the American people to ready themselves for a wartime Christmas.

THE DEMOCRATS

A Turn for the Worse

DEMOCRATS spent the first weeks after the election telling themselves pleasing stories about why they got an unexpected drubbing. It was because they hadn't been themselves. If Democrats had only opposed war in Iraq and come out for the cancellation of scheduled tax cuts—and done both these things loudly—they would have been able to motivate their base to vote, and might even have convinced swing voters that their policies were better than the Republicans'. This theory is now the consensus of the Democratic party, reflected in the House Democrats' decision to make San Francisco liberal Nancy Pelosi their leader. The left wing of the party was emboldened by success in 2000, when several liberal senators were elected and a "populist" Al Gore and Ralph Nader won a combined 51 percent of the vote. Now it is emboldened by defeat. The Democrats' leftward tilt may become more pronounced as presidential candidates compete for primary voters.

Sometimes a party needs to sharpen its ideological edge to give people a reason to vote for it. That is what Republicans did between 1976 and 1980, and again between 1992 and 1994. But it is also true that political movements can become more radical as they decline, and that appears to be what is happening here. There is no evidence that vocal opposition to war in Iraq would have helped Democrats. Walter Mondale was admirably candid about his opposition, and he lost. The public knew the Democrats were less gung-ho than the Republicans. They punished them for it. After the election, Gallup asked voters whether the parties were "tough enough" on terrorism. Sixty-four percent thought the Republicans were, and 57 percent thought the Democrats were not. Those numbers ought to give Democratic strategists heartburn. Yet the party seems intent on making itself more anti-Bush when it comes to the war on terror.

Actually, the Democrats' worst problem wasn't that they weren't tough enough; it's that they weren't serious enough about security. They demanded a debate on Iraq, then complained when they got one. They criticized the president without offering a credible alternative. Democrats lost at least one Senate seat over homeland security, where they put the interests of public-sector unions ahead of national security. But that fight was emblematic: All year, Democrats' positions on security issues have been transparently driven by political calculation.

So they continue to be. The Democrats' self-criticism is that their officeholders voted for a war, or declined to be vocal in opposition, even though they were really against it. Have Democrats stopped to consider what this critique says about them? It says that they thought that an Iraq campaign would throw American lives away while undermining Americans' security—but gave it a green light for political reasons. That their chief regret about this behavior is that it backfired as a political tactic. The Democrats are making an indictment of themselves more damning than they realize.

The Democrats' left turn will cost them, and it could start

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costing them in December. Having denounced sell-outs, how will the national party rally to defend Mary Landrieu's Senate seat? She voted for the war and even the dreaded tax cut. She has made her ability to work with President Bush a selling point. A lot of Democrats, especially in marginal seats, are not going to follow the party's march of folly to the left. Apart from its other disadvantages for Democrats, the new strategy will also split them.

The party's approval ratings have fallen to levels they had not touched since before the Clinton administration. A revival of pre-Clinton ideological impulses is unlikely to raise them.

Conservatives will be tempted to cheer on the Pelosis as they make of the Democratic party an ineffectual rump. We are not immune to the temptation ourselves. But we would rather have a bipartisan consensus in favor of military action to eliminate threats to us than have 47 percent of Congress determined to throw up roadblocks to such action. It would be better for the country if some Democrats were open to pro-growth tax cuts. Democratic presidents will happen every once in a while, and we would sleep easier if those presidents were not left-wing.

But conservatives' hopes are beside the point, since our influence on the Democrats is microscopic. If the Democrats choose to go left, we will just have to redouble our efforts to keep them from the levers of power.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Bill: Wasn't the election wonderful? I confess I was a little surprised, didn't think we'd do quite that well.

In the Deeper Meanings department, I sense that a lot of people are finally realizing that Democrats are simply repulsive. If you change the party names to Normal and Abnormal, the voting pattern we saw becomes clear.

I've decided to move back to Seattle sometime next year. I lived there from '72 to '82 and wish I had never left. I'm a big-city girl, and now that I no longer drive I need the convenience of buses, monorails, and ferry boats, and supermarkets down the street instead of shopping centers out on the highway.

Don't worry that the liberal ambience will get to me. Remember, you and the NR staff live in New York.

Love,
Florence [King]

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I would like to tip my beanie to Carol C. Carlisle (Sept. 30) for contributing to my website the slogan:

"Remembering 9/11 24/7."

For my friends and me, these words are less likely to be forgotten than "We will never forget."

Sincerely,
Bob Clarke
Hanover, Pa.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Re who wrote the plays ascribed to Shakespeare:

1. We can assume that the man who wrote Shakespeare's will was Will.

2. In Will's will, Will wills his "second-best bed" to his wife.

3. Will's *first*-best bed is arguably Will's grave.

4. If so, the wit in Will's will is the same wit in the plays ascribed to Shakespeare.

5. So the witty Will of the will may be the same witty Will of the plays.

Sincerely,
David Black
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Black: Bravo! Will will will you his third-best bed.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Re all the letters about the word "anniversary":

A 100th anniversary is a centennial.

A 150th anniversary is a sesquicentennial.

A 200th anniversary is a bicentennial.

What is the word for a 250th anniversary?

Will the U.S.A. have one of those?

I think not.

Otto Ott
Oakland, Calif.

Dear Mr. Ott: There'll be one if NR has 250,000 subscribers!

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I was delighted to read your remarks about Bach's Fifth Brandenburg in *Modern Maturity* magazine, as I also love that cadenza in the first movement. I have a few points to add.

Most concerto cadenzas end on a pedal point on the dominant; that is, a bass note sustained for a long time as the harmonies above it change wildly, building suspense. We can't wait for that pedal point on A to resolve at long last to the tonic D. But Bach doesn't let go of us that easily. The A goes surprisingly to A#, then B in a deceptive cadence that becomes a complete cadence in the key of D, at which point the orchestra joins in to celebrate the return of the key and the end of the movement.

We get a glimpse here of Bach improvising as only he could. Many people of the time wrote of his magical improvisations—one, who had never met him before, exclaimed after hearing him, "You are either Bach or the devil!"—but here he seems to have written down one of his improvisations. What a gift for us!

One small but interesting tidbit: This concerto has no viola part for the reason that Bach himself played viola in that orchestra, and in this case he was busy elsewhere.

Jack Huff
Nutley, N.J.

Dear Mr. Huff: Fascinating! Thanks.

Cordially,

—WFB

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A Risk and an Opportunity

What to do about Medicare

DAVID FRUM

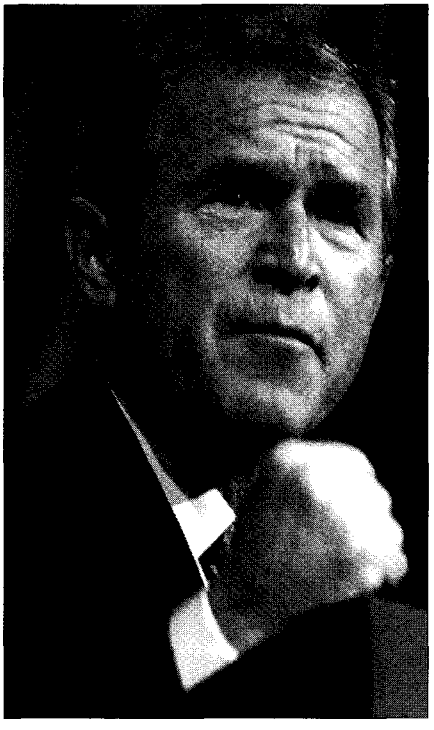
A CAT who sits on a hot stove, Mark Twain observed, will never again sit on any stove—cold or hot. As the new Republican majority in Congress promises to avoid the mistakes of 1995 and 1996, it's hard not to wonder: Are these scalded cats too jumpy?

Every day seems to bring new reports of something the Republicans will not do in the next Congress. Abortion? No. Social Security? No. Major tax reform? No. At his press conference a couple of days after the vote, President Bush listed precisely two legislative priorities: the establishment of a Homeland Security Department, and "job creation and economic security." Republicans should beware of overreaching. But there is such a thing as under-reaching, and it too can be dangerous.

Nowhere is that under-reaching potentially more lethal than in the case of prescription drugs and Medicare. Medicare is a word that sounds in Republican ears the way, say, Waterloo sounds to the French: "We took a bad thrashing there, and we're not eager for a return engagement." So now that Republicans have regained their Senate majority, they resist going anywhere near Medicare. And that caution is certainly reasonable and understandable.

There's a problem, though: Medicare has been malfunctioning for some time. In the nearly 40 years since the program was created, American medicine has been revolutionized. Amazing new drugs deliver fantastic new results. Life spans have lengthened, and the demand for nursing care is growing correspondingly. Everything about health care has changed—except for the program that covers costs for the segment of the population that needs health care most.

The rigidity of Medicare transformed prescription drugs from something you



buy at the pharmacy into the top political issue of the Democratic party in the past three elections. The issue polled so well that Republicans felt constrained to promise a prescription-drug benefit of their own, though a less lavish one. President Bush reaffirmed that promise in an October 21 speech: "We will not rest until we've reformed and strengthened the Medicare program itself so that a prescription-drug benefit is available to every senior in America."

Up until now, however, the GOP commitment to a prescription-drug benefit could remain theoretical. With control of the government divided first between a Democratic president and a Republican Congress and then between a Republican House and a Democratic Senate, there was little possibility that a benefit would ever become law. The costs of the Democratic version of the benefit were simply too horrifying for Republicans ever to accept: as much as $800 billion over the next decade. Nor would Democrats ever accept the leaner ($350 billion over ten years) Republican alternative: The issue was simply too valuable to them as a weapon of political war ever to be compromised away.

Now, though, everything has changed. The Democrats have lost most of their power to obstruct. If now no benefit materializes, America's elderly will blame the Republicans—blame them not merely for failing to deliver, but for actively deceiving them. So, like it or not, the GOP will have to produce.

And here is where the anti-overreachers bump into their big problem. President Bush has always stressed that a new prescription-drug benefit will be offered only as part of a larger reform of Medicare. More than that, Bush has said that seniors must be offered this choice: either seniors keep their Medicare just the way it is now or they sign up for one of an array of reform plans that also offer prescription-drug coverage. Here's how he put it in July 2001: "First, seniors already enrolled in Medicare and those near retirement must have the option of keeping their Medicare exactly the way it is today. No senior will see any change that he or she does not want or does not seek. If you like things the way they are, that's just the way they'll stay. Second, all seniors today and tomorrow will be offered a range of new Medicare plans, including an improved and updated government plan, as well as others offered by non-government insurance plans. All the Medicare plans must offer benefits at least as comprehensive as the government plan. All will be regulated by the federal government, and all of them must offer prescription-drug coverage. Third, everyone enrolled in Medicare will have the power to choose which plan works best for him or her." In other words, for Bush prescription drugs and reform of Medicare are bolted together.

Note that the one option that Bush did not offer seniors in his speech was the option of simply adding prescription-drug coverage to their existing Medicare. Why not? Cost is one large part of the answer. Even in July 2001—before the war on terror, before recession devoured the federal surplus—the

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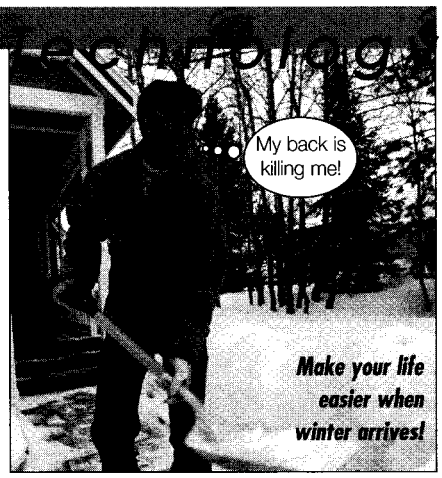

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Snowy nights will never keep me awake again! Now I sleep through the storm like a baby. Next morning all the other guys on the block are up wrestling with shovels, ice choppers, bags of salt—but my driveway and sidewalk are easier to clear! I'm dreaming? No sir, this stuff is real. Put it on the ground before a storm and it can reduce the amount of snow that accumulates. Yeah, I didn't believe it either at first, but Bare Ground works!

State highway departments stay up all night breaking through drifts, plowing, and fighting hazardous road ice. Wouldn't you like to use some of the same winter techniques employed by these dedicated crews? Bare Ground is the consumer-grade version of a product that has been tested and used by state highway agencies to help clear roads and bridges. It is a liquid you spray or stream on a road or sidewalk. It not only melts away snow and ice but prevents future deposits from sticking for days after application! It's not expensive either, because a little goes a long, long way.

On January 8, 2002, Simone S. from New York wrote:

"I used Bare Ground last night for the first time before the storm started and I compliment you on your product. My walkway was clear and dry this morning. No ice like my neighbors. Thanks for such a great product!"

Results may vary.

One gallon equals 50 pounds of salt. Already got snow or ice on your sidewalk or driveway? No problem. Just spray some Bare Ground liquid on the residual patches of snow and ice. Instead of staying on top it sinks down to the surface level and breaks the bond of snow or ice that holds it to the surface. No long waiting either—it starts working in about 20 minutes. Although Bare Ground solution continues to work at low temperatures, it works best at temperatures above 20 degrees Fahrenheit. Another reason the dollar-conscious pros use it: 1 gallon of Bare Ground is the equivalent of 50 pounds of salts or pellets!

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One gallon can be applied to a 20' x 50' driveway. Think of it also as protection against a strained back, even heart strain. If a storm is due, pre-coat your driveway and sidewalk and let it snow. It not only can reduce the amount of snow which accumulates, but applies a non-stick coating that keeps ice and falling snow from sticking. You can also forget about tickets for un-shoveled sidewalks.

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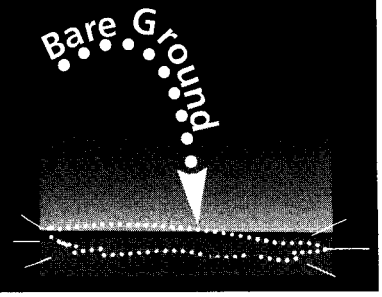

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cost of adding prescription drugs to an unreformed Medicare was intolerable.

To do prescription drugs the Democratic way—without reforming Medicare and without expanding the federal deficit—would add more than $400 to the annual federal income-tax bill of the average working American. And the effect of that would be to leave the federal share of the national income at more than 20 percent forever—the highest level in American history, higher than during World War II, higher than at the most terrifying hours of the Cold War. Even the more modest Republican program would still absorb 20 percent of the entire projected federal surplus for the decade from 2003 to 2012. If prescription drugs are not to break the bank, the federal government will need to offset the cost of this new program by finding savings—through reform in Medicare.

But cost was not Bush's only concern, nor even his most important concern. His most important concern was the future of Medicare itself.

Medicare's numbers are even bigger and more incomprehensible than those of prescription drugs. If the federal government can tightly discipline itself, Medicare's costs will merely double between 2002 and 2011, from last fiscal year's $226 billion to some $420 billion. If discipline slips, and Medicare's costs rise at 8 percent instead of the budgeted 6.6 percent rate, the program will balloon to nearly $490 billion by 2011.

And, depressingly, all of this extra spending is buying increasingly unsatisfactory care. Many of the country's best doctors now turn away Medicare patients because Medicare's reimbursement schedules are unsatisfactory. Medicare takes years or more to add new treatments to its coverage. Its coverage of catastrophic sickness and nursing-home care is inadequate. And it offers the elderly a one-size-fits-all insurance package ill suited to a society that is (as we are so often told) increasingly diverse.

The defects of Medicare are an opportunity for Republicans: a chance to reform and improve the troubled program in ways that are both fiscally sound and consistent with conservative values of choice and freedom. But you don't change a program as big and important as Medicare on a party-line vote. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan warned Hillary Clinton when she described her plans to ram her health-care reform through Congress: "Things this big pass the Senate 70–30 or they don't pass at all." To reform Medicare, Republicans would have to woo Democratic support—and the Bush administration envisioned prescription drugs as the lever that would pry loose Democrats away from their reactionary party leadership. To expand coverage, Democrats would have to accept modernization. The two were bonded together.

Now, post-election, Republicans have to decide. Should the bond that Bush soldered between prescription drugs and Medicare reform be maintained? Or broken? If they maintain Bush's bond, then Republicans will have to brave the risks of "over-reaching." If not, they will be adding a permanent huge expense to the domestic budget, casting aside the best opportunity for Medicare reform in a generation, and resigning themselves to a decade of Medicare-caused fiscal crisis.

So, while doing things with the new Republican majority may be risky, doing nothing is risky too. Maybe even riskier.

There may be some gimmicky escape routes from this dilemma. One would be to write a prescription-drug benefit so radically unacceptable to Democrats that it provokes the minority in the Senate to filibuster and defeat it. Another would be to convene some big national commission, like the Greenspan Commission of 1983, to design a reform package, including a prescription-drug benefit, to go into effect sometime after January 2009.

Alternatively, Republicans may decide to poop out—to drop reform, pass the benefit, and worry about the consequences later. Sometimes you just have to accept that you don't have the strength to achieve your purposes; sometimes politicians must make the hard call to win where they can and surrender where they must.

But the immediate aftermath of a stunning election victory is a strange time to succumb to such pessimism. After all, if this is not the moment to do the right thing, when will that moment come? **NR**

■ **THE AGENDA II** ■

Think IRAs

One solution to three problems

RAMESH PONNURU

How well did Republicans do in the 2002 elections? So well that the best spin the Democrats have been able to put on the results is that Republicans will now have to shoulder all the burden of governing. Presumably this burden would have been even heavier, and Republicans would have had even more to worry them, if they had taken all 435 seats in the House of Representatives.

That's not to deny that governing will present difficult choices. Three issues, in particular, have the potential to vex Republicans: Social Security, health care, and tax reform. But their new majority gives them an opportunity to advance their objectives in all three areas.

Republicans who want to reform Social Security believe that they have every reason to go full speed ahead now. During the campaign, almost all Republican candidates took the position that people should be allowed to invest some of their contributions to the program for themselves. Democrats said the GOP would suffer grievously for that stand. It didn't—in fact, the boldest Republicans made some of the strongest showings. Personal retirement accounts, moreover, continue to poll well.

The election proved that support for accounts is not electoral poison and that, indeed, it even helps Republicans shrink the traditional Democratic advantage on entitlements. Still, while the results were as good as reformers could have hoped, they do not add up to a mandate.

Moreover, Republicans may not have the votes in Congress to enact reform. In the late 1990s, there was a chance that some Democrats would be willing to support personal accounts. Sens. Chuck Robb, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and Bob

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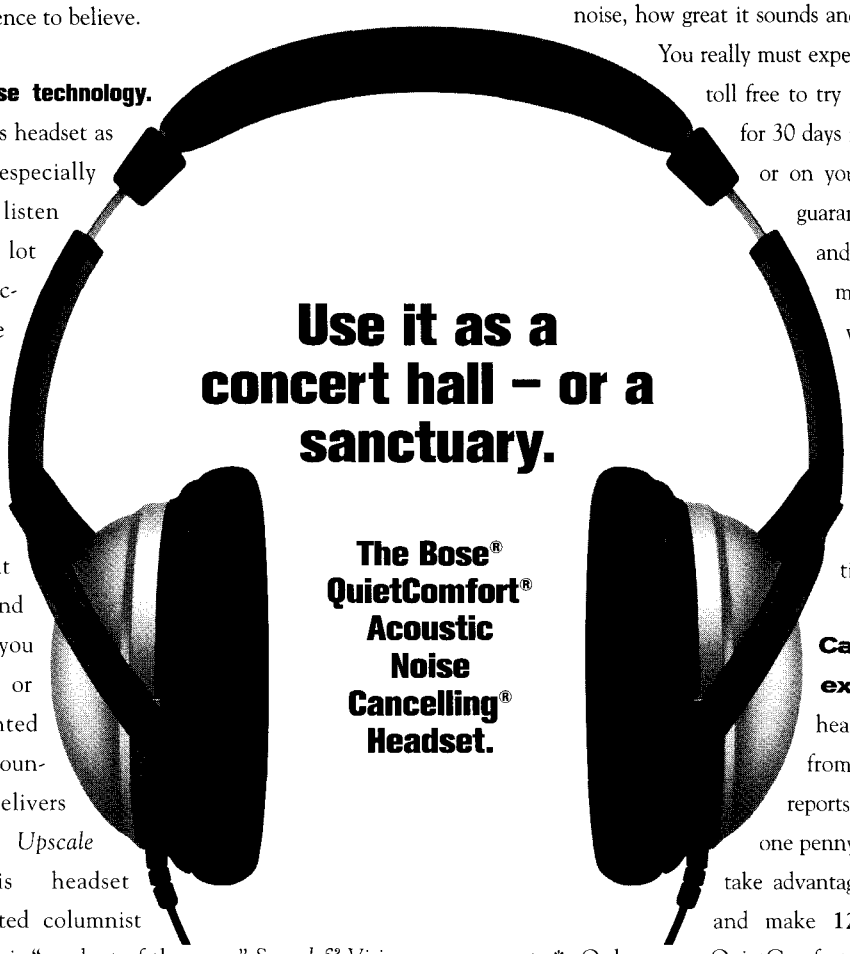

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Kerrey were all potential pro-reform votes on the Finance Committee. They're all gone. When President Clinton sought to overhaul health care in 1993, Moynihan cautioned that reforms of that scale don't get enacted on narrow, party-line votes. It's a point reformers ought to consider today.

The reformers' impatience is understandable. The longer we wait to reform Social Security, the more unaffordable commitments it makes. Andrew Biggs of the Cato Institute estimates that waiting until 2005 to enact reform would incur additional costs of $325 billion. If the White House decides to seek legislative action in 2003, conservatives should support it—but without high hopes.

Republicans also have grand ambitions for tax reform that outstrip their ability to deliver. Economists affiliated with the Bush campaign in 2000 promised that the candidate intended to cut taxes and then, as his second act, reform the tax code. They were guided by the example of President Reagan, who cut taxes in 1981 and reformed them in 1986. Now White House economic aides and Treasury officials claim they will be spending the next few months pondering what form that second act should take. Tax reform on the scale that Gingrich-era Republicans contemplated—a flat tax or a national sales tax—is said to be on the table.

It shouldn't be. Neither a flat tax nor a sales tax has a prayer of enactment. And that's a good thing, since either would set back the free-market cause substantially. Every prominent flat-tax proposal includes generous exemptions that would take millions of people off the tax rolls entirely. A national sales tax would hide the total tax burden from individuals. (Ask yourself if you have a better idea what you paid in income taxes or sales taxes last year.) In either case, the effect would be to lead people to underestimate the costs of expansive government—with predictably dolorous political consequences.

If Republicans reject comprehensive tax reform, as they should, they could still try for a reprise of the 1986 reforms, which eliminated deductions and lowered tax rates. In some respects, however, those reforms are the opposite of what the administration wants. Conservative tax reformers tend to think that the tax code's chief flaw—aside from how high taxes are—is its bias against savings and investment. A central purpose of the flat tax or sales tax is to exempt savings from taxation. Liberal tax reformers, on the other hand, think that a refusal to double-tax savings is a kind of subsidy that should be eliminated. It was the latter view that largely prevailed in the 1986 reforms, which, among other things, ratcheted up capital-gains tax rates.

The 1986 reforms did lower rates and clean up the code. But the improvements didn't last—and getting them even temporarily ate up a lot of political capital. Eliminating deductions means fighting powerful lobbies. It also means raising taxes on some people or businesses (unless tax reform is designed to result in overall tax cuts, in which case a host of budget issues get raised). It's a lot of pain for not much gain.

Eric Draper/Agence France Presse

The majority leaders: Hastert, Bush, and Lott

On Social Security and tax reform, then, Republicans may not be able to achieve their goals. The situation is worse when it comes to health care. There, Republicans are largely playing defense, trying to resist the expansion of government rather than advancing free-market reforms. Republicans acceded to demands for prescription-drug subsidies for the elderly in order to win the election. Republicans have also largely endorsed the principle that federal regulation of HMOs is warranted.

The reason for this defensiveness is that the health-care system has a tendency to move toward centralization and political control. Government policies have created a marketplace in which individuals get insurance for routine, predictable medical expenses and get this insurance through employers and governments rather than buying it themselves. Consumers thus have little incentive to hold costs down—and also little say when the people who are paying decide to ration care. For those who don't have coverage through either their employer or the government, meanwhile, medical costs are a major source of financial insecurity. The result is widespread dissatisfaction and persistent demands that the government step in.

Attempts to have the government just take over the financing of medical care inspire political resistance. Oregon voters overwhelmingly rejected a socialized-medicine referendum in this election, and the Clintons' 1993 plan to halfway-socialize medicine was defeated ignominiously. But these defeats do not change the direction in which the system is headed.

Conservatives have proposed reforms to get out of this trap. Medical savings accounts would reduce the current system's bias toward insurance and against out-of-pocket payment of health costs. Association health plans would widen the field of providers of insurance. Tax credits would encourage the uninsured to buy individual policies. And so on. Here and there, conservatives have even been able to implement watered-down versions of these ideas. Medical savings accounts exist, although Ted Kennedy managed to hobble them with restrictions. Still, new regulations and subsidies are a lot closer to enactment than any conservative reforms—even with a Republican president, Senate, and House.

So what to do? There's no obvious way forward on Social Security, tax reform, or health care. Republicans do, however, have available to them a policy that would help them in all three areas. A policy, moreover, that has a reasonable chance of enactment if Republicans—meaning, primarily, the White House—embrace it.

Republicans should seek a major expansion of IRAs, 401(k)s, and other tax shelters for savings and investment. The

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goal should be to get as close as politically possible to universal IRAs. People are taxed when they take money out of IRAs, or when they put money into them (in the case of Roth IRAs), but not both. If they were allowed to put in unlimited amounts of money and withdraw them later for any reason, the effect would be the elimination of double taxation on savings. Since universal IRAs aren't achievable immediately, Republicans should begin by increasing contribution limits to IRAs, and adding to the list of purposes for which funds can be withdrawn free of penalty.

An expansion of IRAs would broaden the investor-class constituency for Social Security reform. Expanded IRAs would also promote the goal of tax reform by reducing the double taxation of savings. They could promote market-based health care, too, if people were allowed to withdraw from their accounts to cover health expenses (including out-of-pocket expenses).

Of course, expanded IRAs would be criticized as a "tax cut for the rich," since it's people with money who save the most. But so what? Republicans have been winning their campaign against the estate tax, even though it's the very wealthiest who pay the direct costs of the tax. They've been winning that fight because they have made a moral claim that Americans respect: that people shouldn't be taxed more than once, and that they shouldn't be taxed on their deathbeds. There's a moral dimension to this fight, too. Young families who are trying to save for their health, educational, and retirement needs should not be penalized by the tax code.

When President Bush proposed to cut taxes in 2000, there were no measures to reduce taxes on saving and investment in his plan. Amendments to liberalize 401(k)s were added to the bill on the floor of Congress—and they had more support than any other component of the final bill. The House voted for the pro-saving tax cuts by 407 to 24. That's a success worth building on. **NR**

■ **CAMPAIGN 2002** ■

Junior Gets Frisky

The ambition of young Harold Ford

BYRON YORK

A CONSERVATIVE might be tempted to say that Democratic representative Harold Ford Jr. is growing in office. In 1999, Ford, then 29 years old, scored a perfect 100 in the annual index of congressional liberalism compiled by Americans for Democratic Action. But he slipped badly in 2000, managing only a 60. Last year, he was up a bit at 85, but still short of the per-

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fect 100 of Rep. Nancy Pelosi, the California Democrat who on November 14 crushed Ford's bid to become House minority leader.

In recent months, Ford has famously voted in favor of authorizing President Bush to wage war in Iraq. (He was one of 81 House Democrats who voted with the president; Pelosi was one of 126 who voted against.) Ford has also been a bit more open to some of Bush's tax cuts than most of his fellow Democrats. And he has openly criticized the liberalism of some of his colleagues. When it comes time to rate lawmakers again, the ADA will not be amused.

What's going on? Three things. First, Ford *is* growing. "When he came out of law school at 25, he was definitely an ideological liberal," says Kenneth Holland, a University of Memphis political scientist who has been following Ford's career for a decade. "But once he was elected to Congress, he started evolving and asking himself what he really thought." Ford's father, Harold Ford Sr., was a doctrinaire liberal who served 22 years in the House. Young Ford, educated among the Washington elite at St. Albans, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Michigan Law School, set out on a different path. "By nature, he really is a moderate," says Holland, noting that Ford is solidly aligned with the centrist New Democrat wing of his party.

Second, Ford is ambitious. Whatever his personal odyssey, it's also true that his move toward moderation began about the same time he cast his eye on the Senate seat held by Tennessee Republican Bill Frist. Frist was up for re-election in 2000, and Ford considered mounting a challenge. But that would have required appealing to Tennesseans far outside the Ninth Congressional District in Memphis—where Ford was most recently re-elected, with 84 percent of the vote—so Ford accelerated his move toward the center. In the contest with Pelosi, he seemed to shift even more.

The third—and perhaps most important—aspect of Ford's recent development is his realization that there is a major generational chasm in the Democratic party. Pelosi is 62. Ford is 32. World events look different to him than they do to her. "The Berlin Wall fell shortly before I graduated from college," Ford explained in a recent interview. "And really since that time, we've not had to focus on foreign policy and national security. Well, we live in a new era and a new day . . . And frankly, the party that is more trusted on these issues remains the Republican party. And I don't believe it's in the best interest of our party—particularly if we want to govern in the majority anytime soon—to elect leadership or put forward leaders who, frankly, don't inspire that kind of confidence in voters." Ford understands that Vietnam-era liberalism will not appeal to most younger voters. "I think he senses that this generation is a more moderate generation than their parents were—and more patriotic," says Kenneth Holland.

■

Harold Ford fully grasps the fact that George W. Bush is an extraordinarily popular and trusted president.

■

Put those three things together—Ford's growth, his ambition, and his keen sense of the Democratic generation gap—and you have the beginnings of a serious challenge to the party's old leadership. Everyone knew Ford's run at Pelosi would fail—it was almost ridiculously audacious, since Ford has never served in a leadership position. But it allowed the telegenic young congressman to show the world he understands today's politics.

Specifically, Ford showed that he *got* the results of the midterm elections. He realized that national security played a huge role, and he knew that Democrats were on the wrong side of the issue. A few days after the election, the Gallup organization asked Americans whether Republicans and Democrats are "tough enough or not tough enough" in dealing with the threat of terrorism. Sixty-four percent of those polled said Republicans are tough enough, while 27 percent said they aren't. Just 34 percent said Democrats are tough enough on terrorism, while 57 percent said they aren't. That's what Ford meant when he said Democrats "don't inspire confidence" with the American public. And that's why he voted with the president on Iraq.

Moreover, and unlike some of his colleagues, Ford fully grasps the fact that George W. Bush is an extraordinarily popular and trusted president. "This president, who sometimes is right and other times is not, deserves to be supported when he's right," Ford said when he announced his candidacy for House minority leader. He urged Democrats "not just to be obstructionists or to engage in gridlock, which is what I hear a lot in what Nancy is saying."

Republicans enjoy hearing talk like that. "His message is certainly something to be taken seriously," says a GOP insider, "and that is that Pelosi's agenda is to take the Democratic party to the left and not try to find middle ground and consensus." Ford has also pointed out that his party leaders in the House are "0 for 4" in their attempts to retake control after the disastrous 1994 midterm elections. The Gephardt leadership team lost in 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002, and now a member of that team, Pelosi, has been elevated to the top job.

In the end, Ford suffered a resounding 177 to 29 defeat. Was there a downside to his run? Possibly. After all, Pelosi is unlikely to forget all the critical things he said about her. One Democrat suggests Ford might be in for unappealing committee assignments, plus "small offices in bad buildings for the rest of his congressional career, depending on how vengeful Nancy Pelosi is."

Still, that's pretty small stuff. As one Republican put it, Ford "is not a lifer in the House." He has his eye on bigger things. And his brief pursuit of the minority-leader position has made him far more famous than he was a few weeks ago. Just think how many times Ford will appear on *Meet the Press*, *This Week*, *Face the Nation*, *Crossfire*, *Hannity & Colmes*, and *Hardball* in the next two years, cast as the voice of Democratic moderation. He may not be in the formal leadership, but he'll certainly look like a leader. A small office is a small price to pay for that. **NR**

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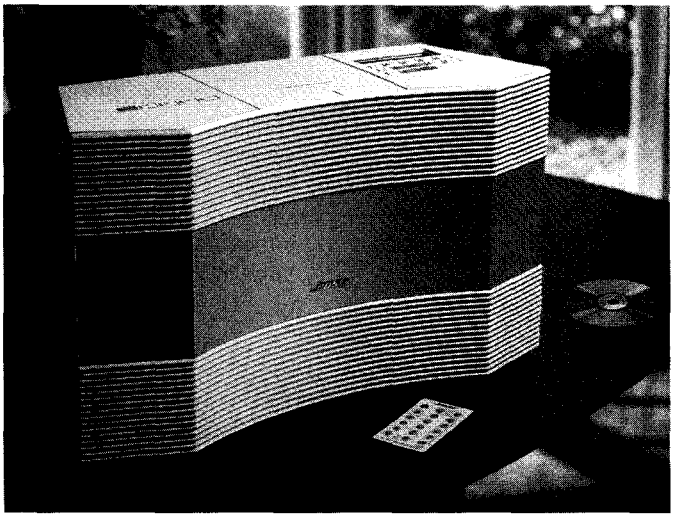

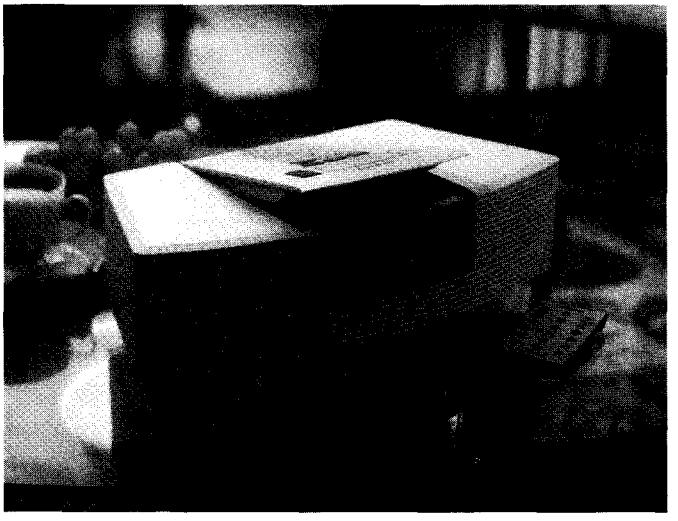

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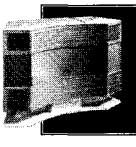

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■ CAMPAIGN 2002 II ■

Sweet Georgia

For Republicans, it's a peach of a state

JOHN J. MILLER

EVERY Georgia Republican has a story about when he knew this election night was going to be a big one for the GOP. For Michelle Hitt, deputy campaign manager for Senate candidate Saxby Chambliss, the moment came just after 8 o'clock. Only about 3 percent of the returns had trickled in. "That's when the *Today* show called us to schedule an interview for the morning," says Hitt. "I knew they were looking at some numbers we didn't have—really good numbers." Two-and-a-half hours later, the national media announced the race for Chambliss. "That's when I knew it was over," Chambliss himself says. The rest of the country, meanwhile, was getting its first taste of how huge a night the Republicans were going to have.

Nowhere was it huger than in Georgia—and Chambliss's defeat of Sen. Max Cleland was only a piece of it. Over the last decade or so, every other southern state has seen a watershed election in which Republicans finally broke the Democratic stranglehold on state and local government. Georgia was the last holdout. On November 5, however, Sonny Perdue became Georgia's first Republican governor since Reconstruction. He made it there by beating incumbent Roy Barnes, who had been considered a potential Democratic vice-presidential nominee for 2004. And the Republicans' achievements didn't end there. On November 8, three Democratic state senators announced that they would switch parties, thereby throwing a chamber of the legislature into GOP hands—also for the first time since Reconstruction. At long last, realignment had come to Georgia.

The Republican victory was broad and deep. Georgia voters ousted Tom Murphy, the Democrats' speaker of the statehouse since 1974—no other presiding officer of a state legislature had served longer. The Democrats' senate leader was sent packing as well. Democratic redistricting also proved to be a disaster. Following the 2000 census, Georgia had picked up two new House seats. Democrats controlled every branch of the state government, so they concocted an aggressive gerrymander that was meant to transform the composition of the congressional delegation from eight Republicans and three Democrats to seven Democrats and six Republicans. But as it turned out, Republicans won two of the seats crafted for Democrats and lost a third by a mere whisker. In the next Congress, Georgia will send eight Republicans and five Democrats to the House.

■

All Sen. Cleland, the incumbent, had to do was run out the clock.

■

The redistricting plan was meant to drive Democrats to victory, but it actually planted the seeds of their U.S. Senate defeat. States that lose seats during apportionment often find themselves in the awkward position of having to place two incumbents in the same district. Georgia Democrats were so determined to hurt Republicans that they threw Chambliss into the same district as fellow conservative Jack Kingston. "I was already thinking pretty seriously about running for the Senate when the new map came out," says Chambliss. "But it made my decision a lot easier." It also made life a lot harder for Cleland, because Chambliss was an ideal candidate for challenging a senator whose voting record was far to the left of Georgia public opinion.

The 59-year-old Chambliss hails from the yellow-dog counties of middle Georgia, which vote Republican for president and Democratic for almost everything else. Chambliss, who won his House seat during the 1994 sweeps, was able to start his underdog campaign with these swing voters in his base and then concentrate on what pollster Gene Ulm of Public Opinion Strategies calls the GOP's "low-hanging fruit"—the heavily Republican counties ringing Atlanta. "This put Saxby in the great position of not having to pretend to be a moderate during the last weeks of the campaign, because all the undecided voters were conservatives in Cobb and Grinnell counties," says Ulm. "They just needed to learn who he really was."

It took almost the whole campaign for that to happen. For months, overnight tracking polls showed Chambliss trailing Cleland by single digits. Sometimes the results were within the margin of error, and Cleland never broke the all-important 50 percent barrier—but Chambliss was constantly behind. To outside observers, it looked like the race would be close but Cleland would prevail. He just had to run out the clock.

Then, on Saturday, November 2, President Bush made his fifth visit to Georgia for Chambliss—including a crucial appearance in the Atlanta suburbs, which were home to nearly all of the state's remaining uncommitted voters. On Sunday, the tracking poll came back with the candidates tied at 46 percent apiece. It was the first time Chambliss didn't appear to be losing. That night, the two men squared off in a televised debate, and by all accounts Chambliss trounced his opponent. It was the buzzer-beater that gave Chambliss a 53 percent majority.

Cleland campaigned on his identity as a crippled veteran: During the Vietnam War, he lost two legs and an arm. The senator thought his war record would immunize him from attacks on his liberal voting record. In reality, it simply forced Chambliss to focus with unusual intensity on that voting record, which included firm resistance to tax cuts and steady support for partial-birth abortion. Cleland also opposed a measure blocking federal funds to schools that deny access to the Boy Scouts—a stance that put him way out of step with ordinary Georgians.

Chambliss shined a spotlight on all these positions. More important than any of them, however, were Cleland's views on how to fight the war on terrorism. The senator did manage to support the Iraq resolution, and ran commercials touting the fact. Yet Chambliss made sure every Georgian knew that Cleland had also opposed the president on eleven key homeland-security votes. When an early version of his most successful ad in-

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cluded images of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein, Democrats howled. How could anybody possibly question Cleland's patriotism? "For an opponent of Max Cleland's to insinuate he's not patriotic . . . it's a disgrace," said Jimmy Carter on October 25. Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts called it "garbage" and "sleazy." Chambliss eventually yanked the images of bin Laden and Hussein, but stuck with the ad's content. And Cleland never really countered it. "I don't have to prove my patriotism to anybody," he huffed. This was a pose, not an argument. It was never a matter of patriotism, and Georgians saw right through the Democrats' phony outrage.

Much has been written and said about the Georgia GOP's impressive "ground game"—how the state party, led by chairman Ralph Reed, orchestrated an impressive turnout effort. To be sure, Reed deserves enormous credit for assembling the same strong grassroots mobilization that made his former employer, the Christian Coalition, such a force to reckon with in the early 1990s. Yet it was ultimately the issues separating Chambliss from Cleland that made this tactical accomplishment possible. Chambliss energized Georgia conservatives not because he gave them an opportunity to walk precincts and hand out leaflets, but because he gave them substantive reasons to work hard on his behalf.

Before November 5, Georgia Republicans looked with envy at their neighboring states and wondered when they too would have a breakthrough election. Now that they've had one, southern Republicans can look to them for lessons in how to beat Democratic senators. Blanche Lincoln of Arkansas and Ernest Hollings of South Carolina (assuming he doesn't retire) may face the same kind of issue-oriented assault that defeated Cleland. Look for them to support the Bush administration on a number of fronts over the next two years—they may even become operationally Republican on security issues and judicial confirmations.

In the meantime, Georgia Republicans continue to bask in the afterglow of a miracle election. Perhaps nobody captured their giddy excitement better than Gov.-elect Sonny Perdue, speaking to supporters at his victory rally: "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we're free at last!" **NR**

■ **WASHINGTON** ■

The Bush INS

Time for accountability

KATE O'BEIRNE

"I KNEW a lot of folks who are naturalized citizens and immigrants," James Ziglar lamely responded when asked at a House hearing last March what specialized experience qualified him to serve as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. When he was nominated in the spring of 2001, the former business executive and self-described libertarian freely admitted that he had "no discernable experience in the field of immigration law and policy"; but his boyhood friendship with Trent Lott and a two-year stint as Senate sergeant-at-arms that won him powerful friends across the aisle were seen as sufficient qualifications for the new chief of the beleaguered INS.

That was then. Ziglar assumed his post with enthusiastic bipartisan support a month before 9/11—and this August announced his intention to resign as INS commissioner by the end of the year. What happened in between was that the lax and inefficient INS had become a national-security problem.

When 19 visa-holders hijacked those planes, they did serious damage to the libertarian case on immigration. Overnight, James Ziglar's resolve to make the INS a friendlier and faster dispenser of green cards made him the wrong man at the wrong time. In more complacent times, he had seemed a fitting choice for the immigration-friendly Bush administration and its supporters in the business community who have no interest in cracking down on the labor pool of an estimated 7 million illegal aliens. Ziglar also satisfied the demands of political correctness by declaring that his top goal would be to ensure that the INS treated its clients with "respect and dignity, and without any hint of bias or discrimination." At the confirmation hearing, then-majority leader Tom Daschle joined Trent Lott in heaping praise on the nominee before declaring, "Amen, let's vote."

After 9/11, though, the libertarian commissioner didn't have a prayer. And his failure is not his alone: James Ziglar's uncontroversial appointment yet rocky tenure at the INS is symbolic of policymakers' schizophrenic treatment of the agency. Members of Congress typically castigate the INS for being insufficiently client-friendly, only to pounce opportunistically when the agency allows a bad actor, like sniper suspect and illegal alien John Lee Malvo, to slip away. There was no disagreement when Ziglar told the Senate Judiciary Committee, "I'm not one who likes the idea of people being detained unless they're convicted of a crime or a danger to society."

When notifications of approved student visas for two of the 9/11 hijackers arrived six months after the attacks, and a year and a half after they were requested by the flight school, liberals were outraged. Sen. Ted Kennedy, who is generally preoccupied with loosening visa requirements, angrily announced that "a flawed information-collecting and tracing system that allows potential terrorists to enter or remain in the United States" could not be tolerated.

Conservative critics of the INS are inclined to blame its problems more on Kennedy and his colleagues than on the agency itself. In addition to the bureaucratic mindset that it shares with other government bureaucracies—the INS resisted automating its files 25 years ago to preserve entry-level jobs—the agency is crippled by disdain for its mission on the part of those responsible for overseeing it. These critics believe that its dysfunctions—including low morale and high turnover among the agency's 33,000 employees—are the product of the inconsistent policies of successive administrations and Congresses.

These mistaken policies have serious consequences. Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, explains that the resolve "to give out green cards as quickly as possible" is disastrous—and that while Ziglar was right to declare that 9/11 was the result of "evil, not

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immigration," he was wrong in failing to recognize that lax immigration policies do, in fact, facilitate that evil. A report by Krikorian's group details the immigration histories of 48 al-Qaeda operatives active in the U.S. over the last decade, and demonstrates how thoroughly the terrorists exploited the current immigration system. Many had overstayed their visas, some crept across the border, others were asylum seekers or legal residents, and some were naturalized citizens.

Krikorian explains that Congress's complex rules and contradictory guidance are largely responsible for the fact that the system has been so easily penetrated by our enemies. He believes that the INS has long been treated as though its mission were unimportant—and that James Ziglar's lax attitude toward the law-enforcement aspects of his job is widely shared in a Congress that wants the INS to look tough, without actually implementing the immigration laws Congress passes.

Although Congress is responsible for the patchwork of unworkable rules the INS is expected to sort of enforce, it is unhappy with its handiwork. Tired of constituent complaints about the delays faced by immigrants and non-immigrants alike, and embarrassed about the recent high-profile screw-ups of the agency, both the House and the Senate have approved plans to break up the INS: In theory, one new agency would deal sternly with enforcement, while the other would provide friendly client services. The INS has already undergone about a half-dozen restructuring schemes, but this is the first time this particular kind of division would be attempted.

Frustrated members of Congress share the desire to—in the words of a top GOP aide—"blow up the INS," but there is a disagreement between the House and the Senate on how to effect the split. The House voted overwhelmingly to entrust the Justice Department with the task of issuing green cards, move the INS's enforcement functions to the Department of Homeland Security, and establish an "un-Ziglar" mandate that its new director have at least ten years of law-enforcement experience. The Senate version, supported by the White House, would split up the agency but transfer both of its functions to the Homeland Security Department.

In the meantime, the INS is under the authority of the Justice Department, and attorney general John Ashcroft has made it clear that immigration laws will be enforced. An administration official delicately allows that the attorney general's emphasis on law enforcement is "not entirely in keeping with Ziglar's instincts"; but—following orders from the top—the INS has implemented a new entrance-and-exit system of fingerprinting and registering for about 14,000 visitors from over 100 countries who fit a "risk profile." And Ashcroft announced last December that there would be an aggressive effort to deport the 300,000 illegal aliens who are under final orders of removal.

It's a modest beginning. But the national-security threat posed by current immigration policies won't be addressed by Ziglar's resignation or the INS's restructuring. Permitting high levels of illegal immigration, flirting with blanket amnesty proposals, ignoring visa violations, and running visa lotteries are all policies that put American lives at risk. And there is another—political—risk: Next time, it would be a Bush INS responsible for a fatal dereliction of duty. **NR**

The Right Reaction
NATIONAL REVIEW

"I'm not a political conservative, but one of my favorite publications is William F. Buckley's National Review."

—Liz Smith, from her syndicated column

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Man Bites Dog

The Axis of Evil takes on canines

JONAH GOLDBERG

If a race of super-intelligent dogs were to land their spaceships on Earth, we would not have a hard time convincing them to join the U.S. in the "War on Terror." They wouldn't even need to see that infamous al-Qaeda tape of the dog being gassed to realize that the enemies of America are the enemies of all dogkind. Indeed, as it turns out, our Axis of Evil and theirs are not all that different.

"I call on the judiciary to arrest all long-legged, medium-legged, and short-legged dogs along with their long-legged owners," Gholamreza Hassani told worshippers last month, according to an Iranian newspaper, "otherwise I'll do it myself." This Iranian cleric is hardly a maverick; he is merely one of the more outspoken members of perhaps the most anti-canine regime in the world. Iranian officials regularly confiscate dogs and execute them unless the owners can provide adequate paperwork; even then the animals are often beaten and abused, and sometimes put to death anyway. In June, the sale of dogs was banned.

The rationale behind the periodic crackdowns is twofold. First, Islam is, quite simply, anti-dog. While the Koran makes few references to dogs, the Hadith—the collection of sayings of Muhammad's contemporaries and closest followers that forms the spine of Islamic law—contains over 400 references to dogs, almost all of them derogatory. Dogs are simply "unclean"; according to one widely cited hadith, angels cannot, or will not, enter a home that contains a dog. Dogs used for hunting or guarding are marginally okay, but

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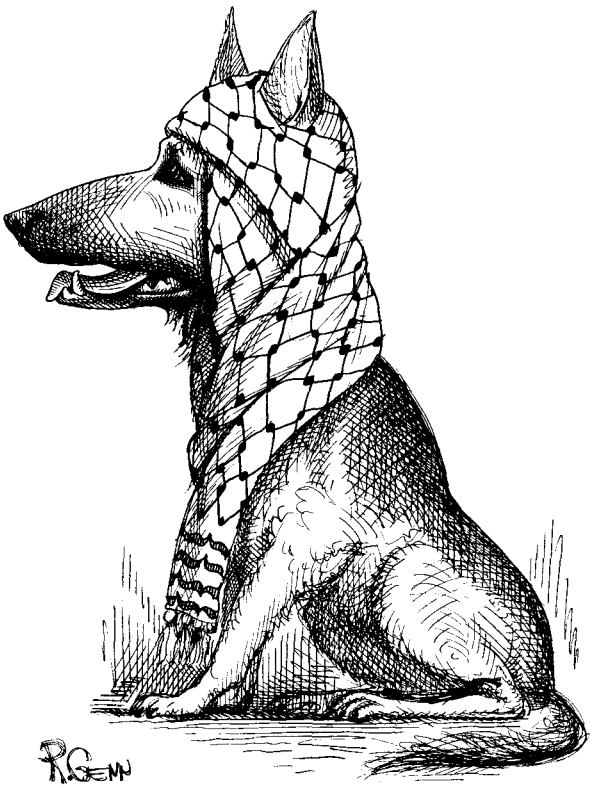
even they are seen as spiritually dirty—the equivalent of useful pigs. (One hadith holds that if your guard dog licks a utensil in your home, you must wash it seven times and—inconveniently, it would seem, wash it an eighth time with dirt.) It is illegal to bring a dog into Saudi Arabia unless it has been certified as a seeing-eye, hunting, or guard dog. Even in secular Iraq, Saddam Hussein first made a name for himself as a boy by torturing and killing dogs with a white-hot steel bar.

The second reason Iran and other Islamic countries tend to crack down periodically on dog ownership is that it's perceived as a form of Westernization. "Regarding the spread of decadent Western culture in the society, the police have risen up against the propagators of corruption," read a police declaration in the *Iran Daily* newspaper, according to the *New York Times*. Other targets of the crackdown: women wearing heavy make-up and shopkeepers who dress up their window mannequins in saucy poses. "Sometimes they go after satellite dishes, sometimes they go after the way women are dressed on the street, and sometimes they go after dogs," Artin Zaman, one of the founders of the Iranian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, told the *Times*. "It's a way of keeping people distracted so they don't think about bigger problems."

But there's a larger dynamic at work here: The practice of keeping pooches is, today, a key indicator of Westernization. Perhaps the best illustration of this phenomenon is in East Asia. In 2001, during the run-up to the soccer World Cup in Seoul, South Koreans endured a wrenching national debate about dog-eating. Unlike Islamic societies, East Asian nations tend to see dogs not as dirty but as delicious—which strikes many of us in the West as horrifying. Joseph Blatter, the head of soccer's governing body, demanded that Koreans "immediately and decisively terminate" the practice; Brigitte Bardot launched a heated PR campaign calling the South Koreans "barbarians" for their culinary practices.

In a very thoughtful and evenhanded editorial, the *Korea Herald* addressed head-on what it called "another clash of civilizations": "In stock-raising Europe, dogs could become men's best friends as hunting assistants. In agrarian Asia, oxen were the property No. 1 in most families as farming aides. . . . Dogs have little use except for guarding houses, which was mostly unnecessary in ancient Korean villages." But as South Korea modernizes, the editorial continued, it "is rapidly becoming a country of dog lovers [and] chances are high that their owners, mostly children, will make eating dogs a thing of the past."



By Roman Genn

The nature writer Stephen Budiansky has written that dogs are among the most successful "social parasites" in the world, efficiently working their way into the hearts of mankind for their own selfish reasons. Budiansky's analysis leaves out much in the eyes of dog-lovers, but in a sense he's certainly right: The canine, more than any other species, has persuaded people to look out for it. But, judging from the historical record, some human beings are more persuadable than others; in Western civilization, dogs are especially prized as they help us fight our wars, enforce our laws, police our borders, and search for contraband. They also keep us company, with remarkable loyalty; Alexander Pope's observation that "histories are more full of examples of the fidelities of dogs than of friends" was partly inspired by the heroism of his own dog, who prevented a valet from murdering the great poet.

In America, where dog-ownership rates can reach 40 percent of all households, we almost expect our leaders to own a dog; historian Stanley Coren estimates that there have been some 230 canine residents of the White House. In Islamic societies, naturally, it's a different story: Islamic radicals in Pakistan have long eyed General Pervez Musharraf with suspicion because he keeps dogs as pets.

But the Westernizing tide continues to rise. In Taiwan last year, lawmakers banned the consumption of dog meat—in order, some legislators said, to prove that the Taiwanese are more civilized than their neighbors on the mainland, where dogs can be bought skinned and cooked or still alive at food bazaars from salesmen in dog-fur hats. Other lawmakers simply wished to placate the anger of Western animal-welfare groups; but all seemed to agree that dogs and Westernization go hand in hand. Western dog jingoists can certainly find much comfort in the fact that while globalization may sneak up on cats' paws, dogs are the bigger winners. Now, if only those space dogs would arrive soon; Lord knows they'd be more reliable than the French. **NR**

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Whose Majority?

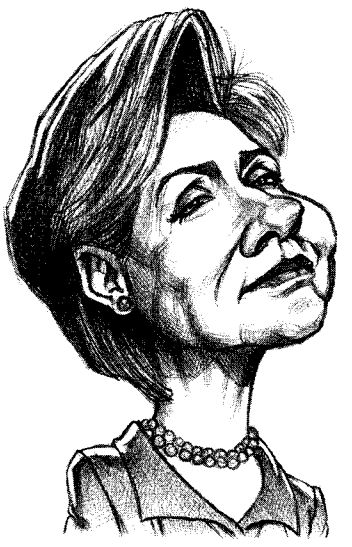
A Democratic thesis and (a dollop of) wishful thinking

MICHAEL BARONE

IT seems a little unfair to comment on a book entitled *The Emerging Democratic Majority* a few months after its publication and a few weeks after an election in which the Republicans increased their majority in the House and secured a majority in the Senate. But that's a risk authors take when they write books predicting majorities for one party or the other. And anyway, in my judgment the 2002 election results do not necessarily disprove John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira's thesis. The scenario they set out, of a country evenly divided between the parties in 2000 becoming more Democratic because of the increasing size of Democratic-leaning constituencies, could still occur. It didn't seem likely to me before this year's election and it seems somewhat less likely to me now, but it is not impossible.

As a conservative and an optimist, I say that partly out of caution. Political judgments are affected by temperament. Optimists tend to be confident that their side is winning and alert to signs that things are moving their way. Pessimists tend to be gloomily certain that their own side is messing things up and that the other side is running circles around them. Pessimists often produce great political reporting. Robert Novak, an embattled conservative, is always ready to report stories that show conservatives hopelessly divided, outmaneuvered, on the verge of defeat. The *Washington Post*'s Thomas Edsall, a gloomy Irish liberal, chronicled the rise of the Religious Right and conservative Republicans' gains in the ethnic working class. We optimists have it a little harder. We're inclined to see the smallest glimmer of hope as a harbinger of victory. We tend to overlook issues or character traits that produce serious problems for our candidates. We are slow to discern trends in the wrong direction. We can try to discipline ourselves by rigorously analyzing data, but sometimes such discipline is not enough.

John Judis and Ruy Teixeira are liberal optimists. It is fair to say, I think, that they are part of the not very large social-democratic Left, convinced that politics and government offer ways to protect the little guy against the big economic interests, more concerned about economic than cultural issues. They do not want the Democratic party to take the advice of the Democratic Leadership Council, which is more market-oriented on economic issues and more assertive on foreign policy. They are also fair-minded, pleasant and congenial in intellectual discourse, willing to give serious consideration to arguments and evidence that do not go their way. They analyze election returns and polling data fairly and they write well.



Hillary Clinton is two out of the authors' three: a professional and a woman. By Ismael Roldan

A RISING TIDE?

Their thesis is that the ingredients of a Democratic national majority have been accumulating since 1990, and that that majority will emerge, apparent to all, sometime between 2004 and 2008. This is likely to happen, they say, because Democrats have been running well and making gains among three important segments of the electorate: professionals, minorities, and women. Their most original discussion is of the professionals. Once solidly Republican, professionals voted for Al Gore over George W. Bush in 2000, and by a significant margin. They are moved to do so, the authors say, by cultural issues, notably abortion—the proxy for a bundle of such issues, which correlate far more closely with voting behavior than do economic factors like income or wealth. Professionals are increasingly likely to be women, they point out, and they are also more likely than Americans generally to be government employees (think of the teachers). All this is quite right, and helps to explain the 1988–2000 trend in affluent suburbs toward the Democrats. Professionals also like the Clintons' brand of New Democratic policies, with its embrace of cultural liberalism and its eschewing of the rhetoric of class warfare.

Judis and Teixeira correctly identify the roots of this trend in the campaign of George McGovern. He lost, like Barry Goldwater before him, but also like Goldwater he detached part of the other party's core constituency from it—for Goldwater it was the Deep South, for McGovern it was the professionals. The Deep South contributed critical votes to the Reagan-Bush majorities of the 1980s and the House Republicans' majority in 1994; professionals contributed to the Clinton-Gore popular-vote pluralities in 1992–2000. And pro-

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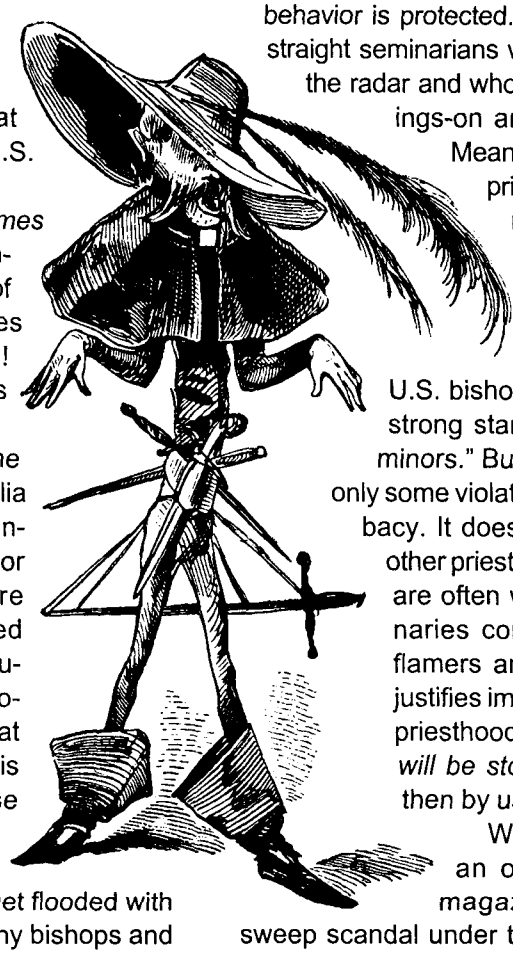
The Lavender Mafia In the Priesthood

Priestly sex scandals in the U.S. Catholic Church were few and far between before seminaries began accepting homosexuals in the 1960s. The homosexual population of the U.S. is estimated at between 2 and 10%. Homosexuals in the priesthood are now estimated to be between 30 and 60%. A major study conducted by *The Kansas City Star* found that "priests are dying of AIDS at a rate at least four times that of the general U.S. population...."

Is celibacy the culprit? No. *The Times of London* found that priests in the (Anglican) Church of England are dying of AIDS at a rate roughly 2 to 3 times greater than Catholic priests in the U.S.! Note well: The Church of England has *always* allowed priests to marry.



Not surprisingly, 90 to 98% of the publicized cases of priestly pedophilia committed by U.S. Catholic priests involve *boys* (whether prepubescent or postpubescent). Not all "gays" are pedophiles, but pedophilia — called "intergenerational love" by homosexuals — is part and parcel of the homosexual subculture, which places great emphasis on youthful physique and is notoriously promiscuous, and whose publications commonly carry themes of adult-child sex.

How did a number of seminaries get flooded with homosexuals? Not only because many bishops and religious orders have allowed seminaries to admit homosexuals — in direct violation of Vatican policy — but because certain vocations directors and seminaries reject a candidate, not because he's homosexual but because he's "homophobic" — they also reject a candidate if he's deemed "rigid" (a code word for orthodox).

In certain seminaries, professors openly dissent from Catholic teaching on homosexuality, and homosexual behavior is protected. And those orthodox, morally straight seminarians who managed to get in under the radar and who object to the scandalous goings-on are persecuted or forced out. Meanwhile, sodomites are ordained priests, and they protect and promote one another, forming what is widely known as "the Lavender Mafia," extending even into episcopal ranks.

Thanks to the media, the U.S. bishops have finally had to take a strong stand against "sexual abuse of minors." But the get-tough policy affects only some violations of the sacred vow of celibacy. It doesn't affect sex with men and other priests. As long as sodomite priests are often winked at, and certain seminaries continue to be hothouses for flamers and promote the dissent that justifies immorality, sexual license in the priesthood will continue. But it *must and will be stopped*, if not by the bishops then by us the laity.

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fessionals account for a higher percentage of the electorate every election year.

With all this I entirely agree. In fact, I anticipated some of it myself. In March 1973 I wrote an article for the *Washington Post* that predicted that Democrats would make gains in 1974 and 1976 in places where McGovern's percentage exceeded or nearly equaled Hubert Humphrey's percentage in 1968. I was thinking geographically; the places were the Upper Midwest, the Pacific Northwest, and northern California. If I had thought about occupational status or education, I would have focused on professionals and those with graduate degrees (there is a high overlap between these groups). And in fact in 1974 and 1976 Democrats did make big gains in the groups I identified: Richard Nixon's downfall was presaged by two Democratic victories in spring 1974 special elections in theretofore Republican congressional districts in upstate Michigan, one of them Gerald Ford's. Those trends strengthened in the 1990s. Al Gore carried the Northeast (except New Hampshire, by 1 percent), the Upper Midwest, and the Pacific Coast.

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Democrats will not be fighting elections anytime soon with all the advantages they had in 2000.

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The second group Judis and Teixeira identify is women. Here they are necessarily less original; the press, one of the most heavily feminist institutions in the country, is always telling us how women are overwhelmingly Democratic, and a good thing too. Actually, the percentages are not overwhelming, and you could just as well say Republicans are doing well because of their strong support from men. But some sexes are more equal than others.

Minorities are the third group identified by Judis and Teixeira. They are aware that Latinos do not vote the same as blacks and that Asians do not vote the same as either of the other two. And they recognize that there are significant political differences among different kinds of Latinos and Asians. (There are significant differences among blacks, too—the difference between blacks who supported Marion Barry and those who support Anthony Williams in Washington, D.C., or between those who voted for Cynthia McKinney and those who voted for Denise Majette in the primary in the Fourth District of Georgia; but these are differences between those who support different kinds of Democrats.) Minorities, they say, are a growing percentage of the electorate, although it should be added that blacks, who are the most Democratic, are not.

But all this does not add up to an inevitable emerging Democratic majority. Judis and Teixeira seem to take the 2000 vote—48 percent for Gore, or 51 percent for Gore-plus-Nader—as a floor. This might be called the Brezhnev Doctrine of political analysis: "What we have we keep" (no imputation of totalitarianism intended). But Democrats will not be fighting elections anytime soon—certainly they did not fight the 2002 election—with all the advantages they had in 2000. In 1996 and 2000 the Democrats were the incumbent party in a time of apparent peace and prosperity. Each time they failed to win a majority of the vote: Bill Clinton got 49 percent, Al Gore 48 percent. No Democratic presidential nominee will run from this advantageous position until 2008 at the earliest, more likely not until 2012, maybe not then: Clinton was the first Democrat to do so since Lyndon Johnson in 1964, 32 years before, when Clinton and Gore were not old enough to vote. The Democrats' 48 percent in 2000 might turn out to be not a floor but a ceiling.

My own view, enunciated in the introduction to *The Almanac of American Politics 2002*, was that from 1995 to 2000 neither party had a majority, that it has been unclear how either party will build a majority coalition in the near future, and that Republicans may have a slightly better chance than the Democrats to do so. I called this introduction "The 49 Percent Nation" and noted that we have had three straight presidential elections and three straight House elections in which neither party has gotten a majority of the popular vote, something that hasn't happened since the 1880s. In 1996, 1998, and 2000 Republicans carried the popular vote for the House by 49–48.5, 49–48, and 49–48 percent margins.

Judis and Teixeira take issue with some points I made in that introduction and elsewhere. I argued that while Democrats made substantial gains in the nation's largest metro areas—especially the very largest, which cast about one-quarter of the nation's votes—Republicans made some partially offsetting gains in rural areas and in some of the nation's fast-growing areas at the edges of large metro areas. Absent those partially offsetting gains, George W. Bush would have lost by a decisive electoral-vote margin, and we all would have gone to bed much earlier on Election Night 2000. Judis and Teixeira don't really disagree; they just say that these areas are not likely by themselves to produce an emerging Republican majority. Maybe, maybe not: In 2002 fast-growing counties produced sharply higher turnouts and huge majorities for Republican candidates in critical races in which Republicans were not initially favored—for Sen. Wayne Allard in Colorado, Sen.-elect Saxby Chambliss in Georgia, Sen.-elect Jim Talent in Missouri, and Gov.-elect Bob Ehrlich in Maryland.

The authors also argue that there is a trend toward lower religious observance that will benefit Democrats, since less religious and unreligious people heavily favor them. But as they point out, survey data on churchgoing are not always reliable. Secular scholars have long proclaimed that in modern times people would move inevitably away from religious belief and toward secularism, but it hasn't worked out that way in America, where rigorous faiths have inspired new believers in generation after generation. That is the message of Roger Finke and Rodney Stark's definitive *The Churching of America 1776–1990*, and the Glenmary Research Center's data for the 1990s show that the fastest-growing denominations were culturally conservative—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Churches of Christ, the Assemblies of God, and the Roman Catholic Church. Strong believers tend to have more children than seculars, and it is far from clear that they are a declining demographic segment; they may be a rising one.

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TRENDS . . . AND COUNTER-TRENDS

But what about Judis and Teixeira's three groups of increasingly Democratic voters?

Professionals are indeed a growing segment of the electorate, and the Democrats do run much better among them than when I was a teenager living in a professional-and-executive suburban Detroit precinct that voted 92 percent for Republican George Romney for governor in 1962. And they may get a little more Democratic as older Republican professionals are replaced by younger Democratic professionals.

But maybe not. For the issue environment—specifically, the posture of the tax issue—can change. In 1984 and 1988 Republicans had cut taxes; Democrats wanted to increase them. In 1984 Walter Mondale promised to raise taxes and in 1988 George Bush famously said, "Read my lips, no new taxes." Reagan and Bush ran well enough in the suburbs that Reagan carried—and Bush ran even in—metro Boston, metro New York, metro Philadelphia, metro Detroit, and metro Chicago. By 2000 the posture of the tax issue had changed: Republicans promised to cut taxes, a promise that is often discounted by voters, while Democrats promised, credibly after their thrashing in 1994, to keep them the same. Professionals were free to vote on cultural issues, notably abortion, and these metro areas all produced large majorities for Al Gore.

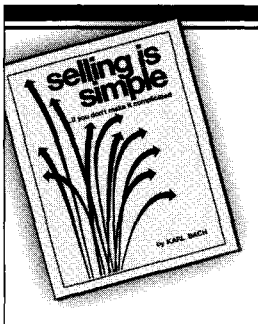
Now the posture of the tax issue is likely to change again. The Bush tax cuts in the high brackets will start to kick in seriously in 2004 and 2005. Voters know that most Democrats are itching to rescind those tax cuts, and many say so out loud. So once again the situation is likely to be that Republicans have cut taxes and Democrats want to increase them. It is at least possible that many suburban professionals will not vote to preserve abortion rights (which don't seem very threatened anyhow) when it will cost them so much money to do so. Such voters in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York were willing to vote for Republican (admittedly, pro-choice Republican) governors in order to stop Democrats from raising taxes. My own hunch is that the Democratic percentages among professionals reached their ceiling in 2000.

Judis and Teixeira also write glowingly about the new "ideopolises," areas with a lot of high-tech and academic professionals, and say that these areas tend to be heavily Democratic. Most do, but some don't. And I think they define their ideopolises a little broadly: Johnston County, N.C., southeast of Raleigh, is barbecue-conservative country, quite unlike Starbucks-laden Chapel Hill. And of course it's not clear now whether high-tech centers are going to increase as a percentage of the electorate. They tend to pass low-growth ordinances that doom them to be a smaller percentage every year.

And then women. It is not at all clear that women will become more feminist unto eternity. There is some evidence that movement is in the opposite direction. More women today choose to stay at home with young children than did a few years ago. An in-depth Kaiser Family Foundation-*Washington Post*-Harvard University survey this year focusing on different age groups found that voters under 30 were the most Republican age group, and that among these young voters there was almost no gender gap: Young women were just about as Republican as men.

How could this be? Here's my explanation. Baby-boom women were raised in a country where it was thought that there was something wrong about working outside the home; they have made choices, which they now seek to defend. This is why the word "choice" is such a brilliant euphemism for abortion: When women vote Democratic to defend "choice," they are voting to defend not just abortion but all the choices they have made which they were taught were somehow wrong and which they themselves often silently fear were not right. But young-women voters grew up in an America where it was assumed that women would work outside the home, assumed by many that it would be wrong not to do so; they have little reason to feel defensive. In an America where it is obvious that abortions are not going to be outlawed and where women don't feel defensive about working outside the home, the feminist argument for the Democrats will have less power. Trend lines do not go on forever.

Now, minorities. Why do liberal analysts, and many others,



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lump together blacks, Latinos, and Asians—so many different peoples, with such different experiences and heritages? Because there is an underlying assumption that this is still a country full of white racists and that people whom we classify as being of a different race will share a common experience of racial discrimination. But this is not a racist country anymore, and the discrimination blacks and Latinos most commonly encounter is discrimination in their favor, thanks to racial quotas and preferences and to employers' preferences for hard-working Latino and high-talent Asian workers.

Politically, blacks are already just about as heavily Democratic as can be, and are not a growing segment of the electorate: no significant gains for Democrats here. Latinos vote differently in different places, depending on where they came from and the politics they encountered in different parts of America. If no Latinos had voted in America, George W. Bush would have won a popular-vote plurality; but if no Latinos had voted in Florida, Al Gore would be president. Latinos are less likely than blacks to look to the public sector for help: Their experience in Latin America has been that the public sector is unreliable and corrupt, something to be avoided. They tend to work overwhelmingly in private-sector jobs and are more likely than blacks to stay off welfare when eligible. They are slightly more conservative on cultural issues than the national average. They flock to Catholic and evangelical Protestant churches—which does not suggest they will become more Democratic. George W. Bush is making a concerted effort to win over Latinos, and seems to have had some success. Non-VNS exit polls show that Republican governor Jeb Bush carried non-Cuban Hispanics (and, of course, Cubans, by a huge margin) in Florida, and Republican governor George Pataki and Republican mayor Michael Bloomberg carried Hispanics in New York in 2002 and 2001 respectively. Republican governor Rick Perry won 35 percent of Latinos' votes in Texas when opposed by a Latino who spent $60 million on his campaign. Other Republicans did not do so well.

The point is, Latinos are never going to be anything like blacks electorally. They will not be a 9–1 Democratic bloc. They will be voters for whom both parties will compete vigorously, with different proclivities in different states. And what will happen if George W. Bush appoints a Latino chief justice of the United States?

Asians—a far less homogeneous group—are an even more uncertain matter. Judis and Teixeira cite polls of Chinese and Vietnamese voters that show Democratic percentages among them rising in the 1990s. Certainly the Clinton team made efforts to win over Asian voters—remember Al Gore at the Buddhist temple? But George W. Bush is making such efforts as well, and they may pay off too. It is risky to generalize about Asians, since we are talking about people from so many different cultures and countries, but some political operatives have noted a tendency for at least some Asians to vote for incumbents: Stay in good with the powers that be and show your loyalty by backing the president. In any case, Asians do not seem to be an overwhelmingly Democratic group. The VNS exit poll said that Al Gore won among Asians by a 54 to 41 percent margin, as the candidate of the incumbent party. But that was mainly due to Hawaii, where Asians (a majority group there) backed Gore 61 to 35 percent. In California, with more than one-third of the nation's Asian voters, the vote was 48 percent for Gore and 47 percent for Bush—a reasonable facsimile of the national average. Such a margin is not going to produce a national Democratic majority.

THE PROPHECY BIZ

Judis and Teixeira are not the first to write a book called *The Emerging Democratic Majority*; Lanny Davis, recently famous as a defender of the Clintons on TV, published a book with the same title in 1974. Davis's book describes the Democrats' turmoil years of 1968–72 and offers an optimistic view of the party's chances in 1974 and 1976—pretty good prophecy. As it happens, 1974 and 1976 were the last years in which the Democratic party saw its vote percentage in House and presidential elections rise greatly compared to the previous elections; the Republicans enjoyed similar substantial increases in the presidential election of 1984 and the House elections of 1994. In the 1990s partisan preference for president and House converged: The Democrats got higher percentages for president than in the 1980s and Republicans got higher percentages for House members than at any time since the 1950s. That left both parties just a tick below 50 percent. Now George W. Bush and Karl Rove have pushed the Republican percentage above 50 percent.

■

The creation of a national Democratic majority today looks like a far harder and longer task than it did when Judis and Teixeira sent their book to press.

■

This, again, is not to say that the Democratic majority Judis and Teixeira envisage can never come into existence. Visible failure in the war against terrorism, a move to Japanese-style deflation in the economy: These could make the Democrats a majority without their having to do much to bring it about. If Al Gore had won 10,000 more votes in Florida and if he had responded as well as Bush to September 11, then Democrats might have been on their way to a Judis-Teixeira majority right now. But 2000 was not a floor for Democrats. George W. Bush has come up with a carefully prepared set of policies and has responded to emergencies for which he could not have prepared, in a way that has moved Republicans ahead from the 49–49 percent deadlock that prevailed from 1995 to 2001 and put them in the way of winning a majority in 2004 that could conceivably turn out to be permanent. The Democrats have not come up with such policies and have in some cases—notably, Tom Daschle on the timing of an Iraq resolution or on the homeland-security agency—responded to the perils we face in a manner that is transparently political and falls far short of what the public expects. The creation of a national Democratic majority today looks like a far harder and longer task than it did when Judis and Teixeira sent their book to press, and even then it was not as likely a thing as they thought. **NR**

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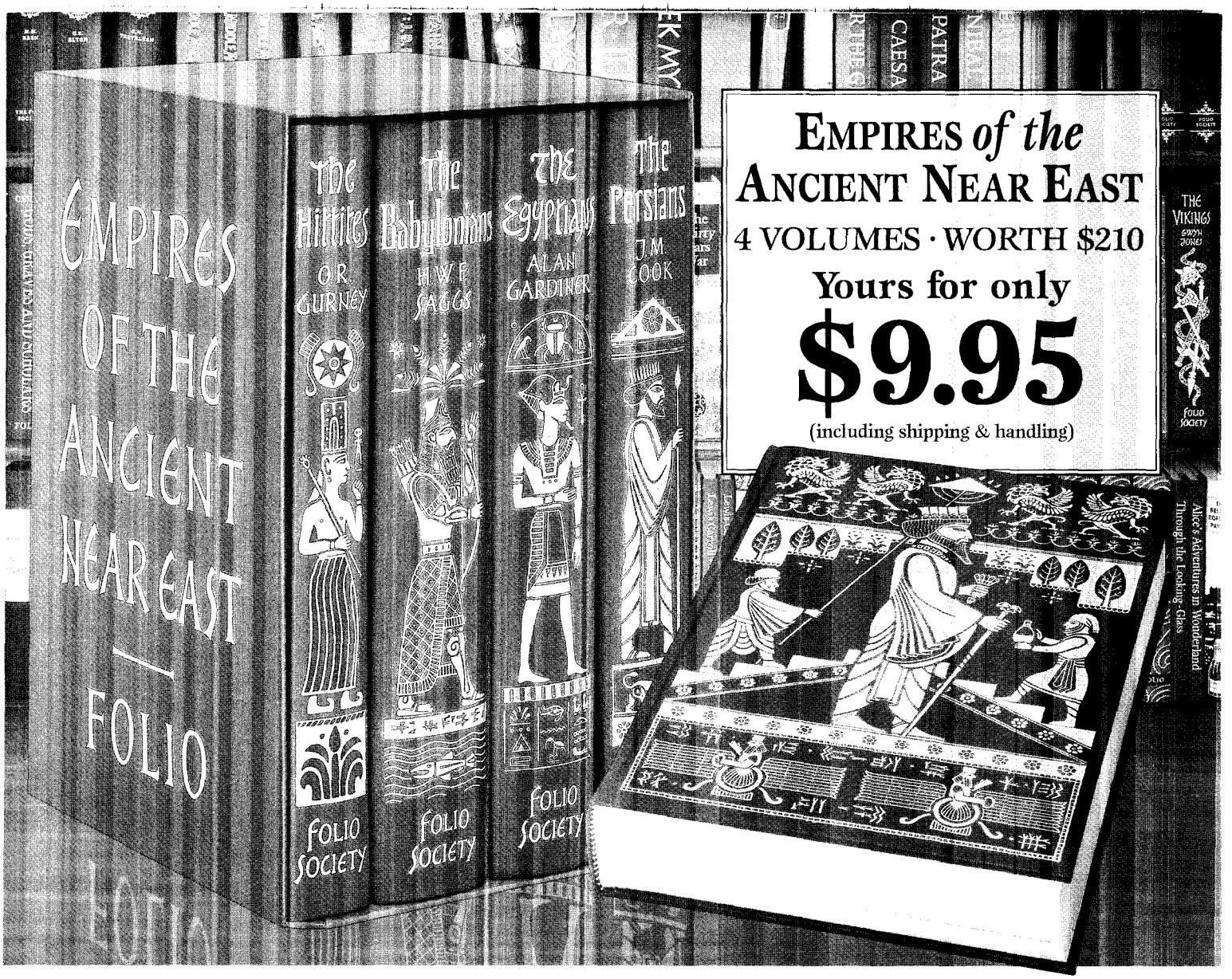
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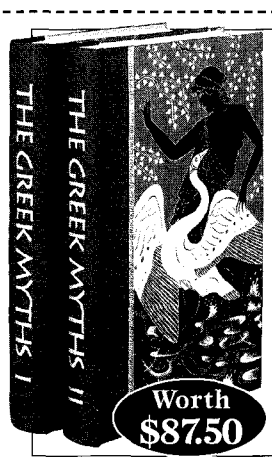

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Conquest's Conquest

A man and his admirers

JAY NORDLINGER

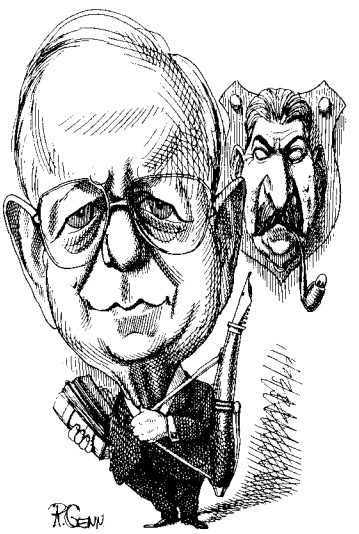
WE'RE in something of a Robert Conquest moment—but then, we've always been in such a moment, at least since 1968, when Conquest published his book on Stalin's rule, *The Great Terror*. That was the book that shut them up. Well, many of them, anyway.

Currently, Martin Amis and Christopher Hitchens both have books out. Who are they? They're two of the jazziest British writers of their generation, and they're great friends of each other, as well as great rivals. Amis's book is called *Koba the Dread*: It's about Stalin (Koba was a nickname) and the failure of Western intellectuals to come to grips with Communism. It also touches on several personal matters. Amis addresses Hitchens directly in the book: "Comrade Hitchens!"

The latter's book is on Orwell: *Why Orwell Matters*. Part of Hitchens's project is to claim the great man for the Left, or for some sort of Left, in any case.

Other than being popular, probing, and stylish, these books have one thing in common: They're dedicated to the same man, Robert Conquest.

This is not only interesting, but also somewhat awkward, at least for the dedicatee. Amis and Hitchens have been sparring, making for a nice public show, though with a serious side. Each claims Conquest as a guiding light, and each is surely right. He has been that for many thousands, who, unlike these two authors, never met the man.



The double dedicatee, by Roman Genn

He must be one of the most important writers of the second half of the 20th century, producing a string of books that—like Solzhenitsyn's—put the lie to Communism, in particular to Soviet Communism. In the early 1990s, Richard Nixon—a fair judge of world events—said, "[Conquest's] historical courage makes him partially responsible for the death of Communism." Another high tribute came from a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party—who denounced, and immortalized, Conquest as "anti-Sovietchik Number One."

SITTING ON THEIR SHOULDERS

Martin Amis's father, the novelist Kingsley, was a close friend of Conquest's, although they often had rows. Kingsley liked to make up stories about Conquest (and others, of course). Perhaps the most famous is: "When asked whether he'd like to retitle a new edition of *The Great Terror*, Bob said, 'How about, *I Told You So, You F***ing Fools?*'" That sounds like Conquest, but it wasn't. Could have been. Another time, as Conquest relates—I rang him up—Kingsley published "a totally untrue story about me and a girl." When Conquest got cross with his friend, Kingsley simply transferred the tale to someone else.

At one point, exasperated, Conquest cut him off entirely: "but I gave him a general amnesty on the occasion of the collapse of the Soviet Union."

Martin Amis begins *Koba the Dread* by quoting from Conquest's 1986 book *The Harvest of Sorrow*, which documents the Soviets' terror-famine in the Ukraine. As he comments on Conquest's findings, Amis is in a kind of shocked awe. He is also gloriously, almost sputteringly, indignant, wondering how the Communists got away with it. Later in the book—taking up an old theme—Amis writes, "Everybody knows of the 6 million of the Holocaust. Nobody knows of the 6 million of the Terror-Famine" (get those capital letters).

The junior Amis seems to have come rather late to a realization of the horrors of Communism, and of the horrible Western tolerance of it, even celebration of it. This has caused some veteran anti-Communists to guffaw. But a writer of Martin Amis's skill and influence should be welcomed into this company, rather than scorned. He might be thanked for joining. A great many people in the Free West were raised on lies, or half-truths, or apologias—and when they encountered Conquest or Solzhenitsyn or somebody else, they saw.

Conquest has known Martin Amis since he was a child, and he has known Christopher Hitchens a long while too. He is sometimes tried by them—particularly by the latter—but his affection is obvious. Hitchens, for example, is always "Hitch" from Conquest's mouth.

The dedication in *Why Orwell Matters* is rather unusual. It begins, "Dedicated by permission." It's not uncommon for a writer to seek permission before dedicating, but hardly anyone has seen such permission stated. It's as though Hitchens is saying, "No, this is for real—and he doesn't mind!" The dedication continues, "To Robert Conquest—premature anti-fascist, premature anti-Stalinist, poet and mentor, and founder of the 'united front against bullshit.'"

A couple of points here, already. First, John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr published a peculiar, fascinating, and demolishing piece in the September 2002 *New Criterion* called "The Myth of 'Premature Antifascism.'" American Communists and leftists have long liked to say that the U.S. government labeled members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain "premature anti-fascists." This is complete rubbish. The Communists, self-congratulatingly, attached the phrase to themselves. Second, Conquest was not merely an "anti-Stalinist," but an anti-Communist, period: in Russia, in Vietnam, in Europe, in the Caribbean—everywhere.

Hitchens's dedication to Conquest has amused some conservatives and irked others. Perhaps the right response is to be heartened by it. Someone remarked, "Robert Conquest is the angel sitting on Christopher Hitchens's right shoulder; Gore Vidal is the devil sitting on his left one." Indeed, the back cover of *Why Orwell Matters* contains three blurbs under the heading

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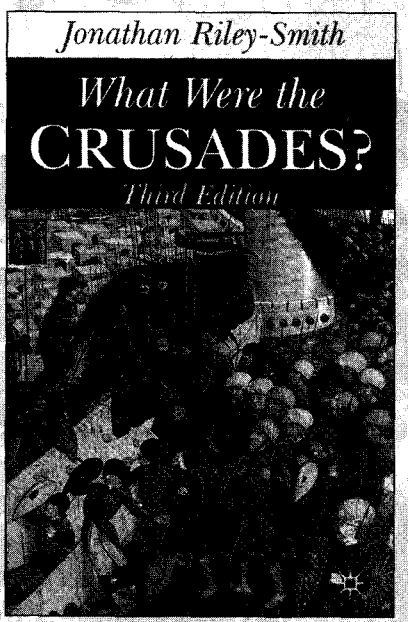

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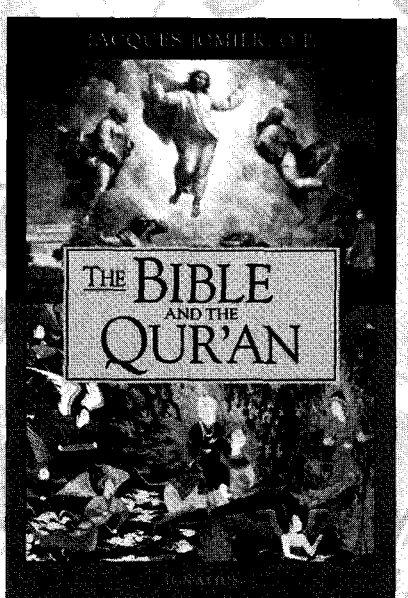

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"Praise for Christopher Hitchens": from Vidal, Edward Said, and Susan Sontag. Those are three funny names alongside Conquest's. Vidal says, in his blurb, "I've been asked whether I wish to nominate a successor, an inheritor . . . I've decided to name Christopher Hitchens."

When I tell Conquest who the blurbists are, he laughs heartily. These guys aren't exactly members of the "united front against bullshit," are they? I inform Conquest that some fear that Hitchens is trying to co-opt him—perhaps claim him for the Left, same as he's doing with Orwell (more plausibly, to be sure). Conquest answers, "He won't get very far."

In a recent discussion on Andrew Sullivan's (great) website—www.andrewsullivan.com—Hitchens said that Conquest "might not want to be identified as a full-out conservative, because he is an ex-Marxist and was a committed social democrat—and even voted for Clinton in 1992!—but he has found a sort of home on the civilized Right . . ."

■

For someone who has spent his life immersed in the grimness of mass murder, Conquest is astoundingly merry.

■

On hearing this, Conquest half-chortles, half-explodes: "Ex-Marxist? Oh, come on! I was a Marxist when I was 20, and I wasn't a committed social democrat ever." As for Clinton, "I don't vote! I might have said something in Clinton's favor, knowing nothing about him in those days. I didn't think the Bush administration was doing very well. I might have hoped that Clinton was a Scoop Jackson type. And, it's true, I'd like to see at least some Democrats who'd be solid, in the Jackson way." Wouldn't we all.

Well, then, how would he describe himself, politically? One writer, in *Reason*, described him as a "Burkean conservative." Conquest would allow that. He says, "I'm an anti-extremist. And I'm for a law-and-liberty culture. Those are Orwell's words: law and liberty. I don't regard the EU as being any good for that. I am strongly against the EU. I'm against regulationism and managerialism. I'm against activism of any sort." Remember, he says, "the Nazis were keen statists, and keen on socialism: 'national socialism,' they called it." And when it comes to "conservatism"—that murky term—"I feel that, when other people and nations are veering from civilization, I would prefer to conserve. I certainly prefer Burke to Locke—but, of course, there's overlap of various sorts."

Hitchens is inarguably right to compare Conquest to Orwell, as he has. In fact, he begins his new book with a poem that Conquest wrote about Orwell in 1969. Its first lines are, "Moral and mental glaciers melting slightly / Betray the influence of his warm intent." More than a few have observed that this applies to the poet himself.

A HAPPY (COLD) WARRIOR

Conquest is now ensconced at the Hoover Institution, casting his eye on the world, writing his books as usual. We should have his memoirs before long—but first he's doing a book on the gross miseducation of the young. He's a famously amusing, fun-loving person, Conquest: full of jokes and quips and *aperçus*, ready to recite any number of limericks (a specialty). For someone who has spent his life immersed in the grimness of mass murder—and the reluctance of free people to face up to it—he is astoundingly merry. According to his wife, Elizabeth, as Martin Amis tells us, Conquest simply "wakes up happy."

He was born in 1917 to an American father and an English mother. Even today he holds dual citizenship. At Oxford, he was a Communist party member, but an open member, not a secret one, which somehow is typical of Conquest—more honest. It didn't take long to shake off his Communism. He would later write, "Often at the age of 18 or 20, a student meets some glittering general idea and, far from feeling any responsibility to submit it to serious questioning, henceforward follows it like a duckling imprinted with its mother." Conquest was not a duckling.

During the war, he was in the Balkans and saw exactly what the Communists were up to. He has always insisted that the facts about the Soviet Union were always available, for anyone interested in them. Trouble was, too few were interested. Everyone was in the thrall of "socialism" (though not of the "national" variety). If Idi Amin had only called himself a socialist, Conquest once said, he'd have been all right—no matter how many people he ate. Even today, they're still swooning over most any tyrant and torturer who calls himself "socialist" or "progressive." A couple of weeks ago, Steven Spielberg was held spellbound by Castro in Havana for eight hours—the "most important" in his life, said Spielberg after.

If Conquest now enjoys vindication, there's still a lot of stubborn revisionism going on in the universities, a refusal to see clear. "They're still talking absolute balls," says Conquest. "In the academy, there remains a feeling of, 'Don't let's be too rude to Stalin. He was a bad guy, yes, but the Americans were bad guys too, and so was the British Empire.'" Furthermore, "They say [disapprovingly] that we were Cold Warriors. Yes, and a bloody good show, too. A lot of people *weren't* Cold Warriors—and so much the worse for them."

The present war—that against Islamic extremism—is a different kind of war, yet with similarities. There are myths to be fought against here, too. Shortly after 9/11, Conquest wrote (for National Review Online), "[There is little] knowledge about the mental world of those outside the American, or Western, experience, and in particular about the mental world of the enemies of the democratic way of life. One result [is] the assumption that the enemies of Western culture can be won over by goodwill; and that the West is to blame if such approaches do not work."

Robert Conquest has never been unclear about the "mental world" of anti-democratic and murderous forces. Those who endured the Soviet Union, above all, will never forget him for it. In 1989—the super-thawing days of *glasnost*—Conquest returned to the Soviet Union for the first time since he was a student. Practically everyone in the Soviet Union had read *The Great Terror*, under the pillow, as it were. One man asked to pinch Conquest, just to reassure himself that he, Conquest, was really there, on Russian soil. And another man—a poet—came up to him on the street and, wordlessly, handed him a rose.

That, we're still doing: handing Conquest roses. **NR**

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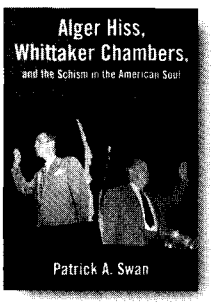

"The Hiss-Chambers case was one of the great symbolic struggles of the 20th century—interesting less for its details than for how it illuminated the intense commitments and clashes of the American Left and the Right during the Cold War. Patrick Swan's fine collection of essays shows how it became a compelling metaphor for the whole period and deserves a spot on every bookshelf, right beside *Witness*."

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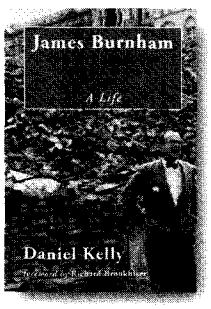

"Though Burnham and Meyer passed from the scene some time ago, two new biographies...assure that they will not fade into oblivion. Both books are meticulous works of intellectual history, recording the full trajectory of their subjects' ideas while giving spare attention to the details of their personal lives."

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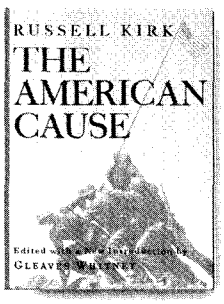

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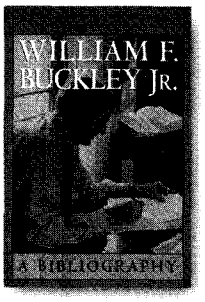

Since the publication of *God and Man at Yale* in 1951, William F. Buckley Jr. has been the most visible spokesman for American conservatism. He has also been one of the most prolific. This volume, a complete bibliography of Buckley's written work from 1951 through 2000, is a fitting way to mark Buckley's fiftieth year as a public intellectual. Including previously unpublished photos, this invaluable research tool should find a home on the shelf of every Buckley aficionado, and anyone else interested in the intellectual and political history of twentieth-century America.

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KEVIN J. SMANT / *Foreword by* M. STANTON EVANS

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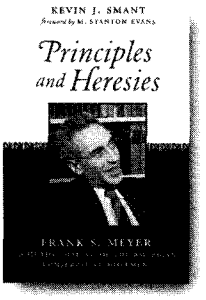
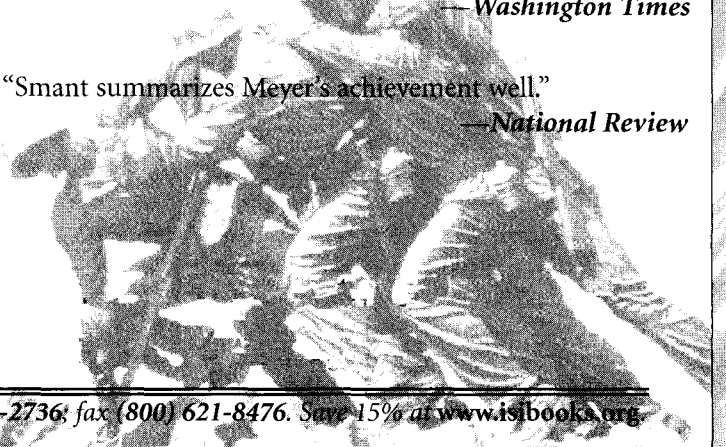


"What makes these biographies, Daniel Kelly's *James Burnham and the Struggle for the World*, and Kevin J. Smant's *Principles and Heresies: Frank S. Meyer and the Shaping of the American Conservative Movement*, essential reading is that they provide from a conservative viewpoint an enormously detailed understanding of the 20th century war of ideas.... These long overdue biographies justifiably recognize two men who contributed mightily to the development of a political philosophy which has influenced the free market democracies."

—***Washington Times***

"Smant summarizes Meyer's achievement well."

—***National Review***



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"He said I should take these two tablets and call Him in the morning."

Anticipating Nancy

Please welcome Nancy Pelosi.
She's so left-leaning, she leaves
Cameramen feeling quite queasy;
Hand her an apple, and Eve's
Just one more ho-hum seducer.
No kidding, Nancy can pull
Dems like that chorus of Sirens
Odysseus battled. No bull.

—W. H. von Dreele

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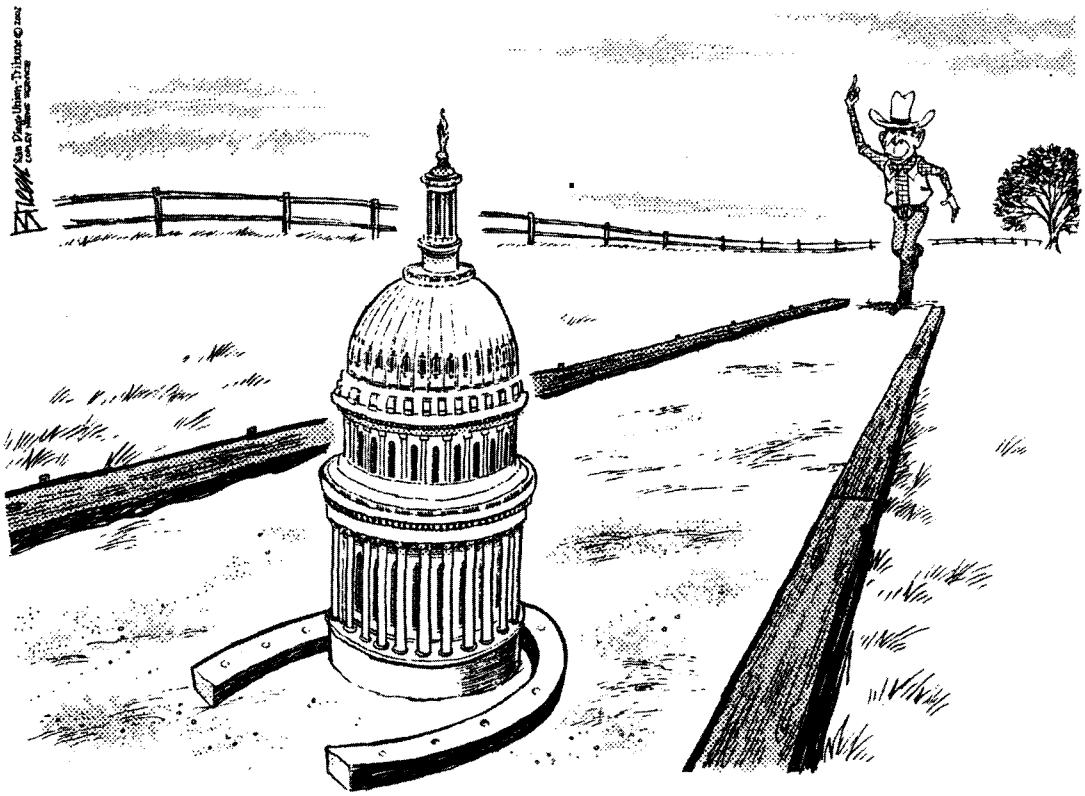

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THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2003

May 1-11, 2003, aboard the stunning MV *Mozart*

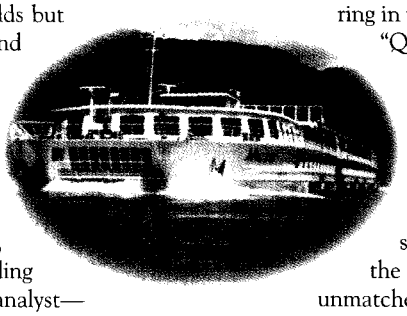
Danube River Charter Cruise

Visiting Beautiful Munich, Vienna, Budapest, Bratislava, Esztergom, Dürnstein, Grein, and Melk

in the Company of William F. Buckley Jr., Paul Johnson, Kate O'Beirne, Rick Brookhiser, and David Pryce-Jones

Join us on what will be one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2003 Danube River Charter Cruise**. Featuring a sterling cast of conservative speakers, this special trip will take place May 1–11, 2003, aboard Peter Deilmann Cruises' MV *Mozart*, the world's most luxurious riverboat.

This is a *unique* opportunity to (leisurely!) visit and enjoy some of Europe's most enchanting cities and towns, in the exclusive and intimate company (the spacious and elegant *Mozart* holds but 200 people!) of fellow *National Review* sojourners and acclaimed conservative celebrities.



Headlining our seven-day sailing down the Blue Danube is **Paul Johnson**, the acclaimed British author and historian (his *Modern Times* is but one of several classics). He'll be joined by **William F. Buckley Jr.**, *NR* Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, and *NR* Senior Editors **Richard Brookhiser**—Founding Fathers biographer supreme *and* razor-sharp political analyst—and **David-Pryce Jones**—a top conservative expert on Islam. (A number of other top conservatives have also been invited.)

Sign up now: Over 40 *NR* cruise "alumni" have already reserved cabins, and for good reason: They *know* the combination of a charter setting, an acclaimed ship with large cabins, a classic European itinerary, a great speaker line-up, fun parties, and *affordable* rates—*plus* a **FREE** two-night pre-cruise stay in Munich (if you sign up by December 31, should there be any cabins left by then!)—is a winning formula. Join them. If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first*.

It's a decision you *won't* regret. An *NR* cruise is *the* setting to meet and intimately discuss politics, policy, national security, and international affairs with some of the most interesting and intelligent conservatives from both sides of the Atlantic. Our brilliant ensemble will be starring in five exciting seminars (allowing for ample audience "Q & A") that will provide a scintillating and unique take on current events.

On top of the exclusive "extras" *NR* offers—seminars and social events (we'll have three cocktail receptions and two late-night "smokers" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars), and intimate dining with speakers—is a *great* cruise on a *great* vessel. One of the most acclaimed ships afloat, the *Mozart* offers an unmatched way to experience the "Old World." Among the vibrant cities and charming towns we'll be visiting are:

PASSAU Our cruise embarkation/debarkation port is one of the oldest and most picturesque German cities, graced by cobblestone streets and lovely arcades. Passau is perfect for exploring—begin with the impressive St. Stephan's Cathedral, home to one of the world's largest and most ornate pipe organs.

A FANTASTIC 'OLD WORLD' ITINERARY AWAITS YOU!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Thurs/May 1	USA		PM	depart for Munich
Fri/May 2	Munich, Germany	AM		transfer to Hilton
Sat/May 3	Munich			city tour/lunch
Sun/May 4	Munich/Passau		7:00PM	afternoon transfer to *Mozart* evening cocktail reception
Mon/May 5	Durnstein, Austria Vienna, Austria	9:30AM 5:30PM	12:300PM (overnight)	afternoon seminar
Tues/May 6	Vienna, Austria		7:30PM	late-night smoker
Wed, May 7	Esztergom, Hungary Budapest, Hungary	8:00AM 2:00PM	10:30AM (overnight)	late-morning seminar
Thurs/May 8	Budapest, Hungary		4:30PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Fri/May 9	Bratislava, Slovakia	9:30AM	2:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Sat/May 10	Melk, Austria Grein, Austria	9:00AM 5:30PM	2:00PM 7:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Sun/May 11	Passau/Munich	8:00AM		transfer to airport

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ACT NOW: ONLY 90 LUXURY CABINS AVAILABLE—40 ALREADY BOOKED!
SIGN UP BY DEC. 31 FOR FREE PRE-CRUISE PACKAGE IN MUNICH!

PETER DEILMANN CRUISES is Europe's premier river line. Don't take our word: *Condé Nast Traveler* readers recently voted it the world's *best* line for destinations and food, and second-best for service! A Deilmann cruise is an unqualified luxury experience!

The unrivalled MV *Mozart* was completely refurbished in 2000, and is resplendent with polished rosewood and original art. Its many amenities include the Panorama Lounge, the Don Giovanni Bar, the Café Amadeus, a gift shop and beauty salon, a library, plus an indoor heated pool, whirlpool, sauna, and solarium/massage center. On the wide-open Sun Deck you can relax on a deck chair and take in the stunning riverbank and countryside.

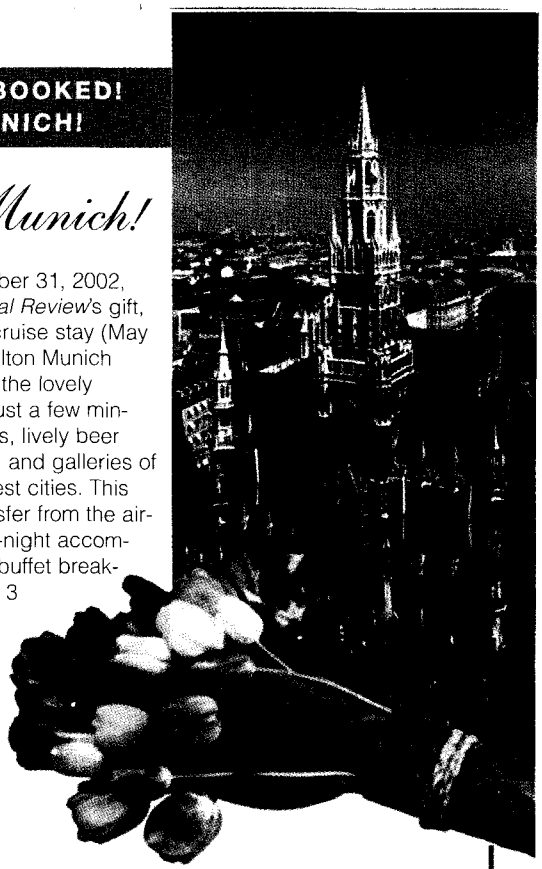
All the *Mozart*'s staterooms (there's but one category) are phenomenal by industry standards: Each is a very large 203 square feet and features built-in wardrobe space, color TV, mini bar, dressing table, sofa, coffee table, shower and toilet, telephone, and an audio entertainment center. The large marble bathrooms have a hairdryer and terry robes, and all cabins have large port or picture windows. There's just no better way to see the heart of Europe! And it's *very* affordable. Prices for the ***National Review*** **2003 Danube River Charter Cruise** (includes all gratuities, port fees, and transfers—for Fly-Cruise packages—meals, entertainment, and participation in all *National Review* seminars, cocktail receptions, and smokers) are

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: only $3,999 p/p

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: only $6,999

Ahh ... Munich!

Sign up before December 31, 2002, and receive, as *National Review*'s gift, a **FREE** two-night pre-cruise stay (May 2–4) at the luxurious Hilton Munich Park hotel, adjacent to the lovely English Gardens and just a few minutes from famous sights, lively beer gardens, art museums, and galleries of one of Europe's grandest cities. This package includes transfer from the airport to the hotel, a two-night accommodation, taxes, daily buffet breakfast, a city tour on May 3 (including lunch at the Hirschgarten, on of the city's most famous "beer gardens") and a transfer from the hotel to the *Mozart*. We believe it's a great way to make a great trip . . . *greater!*



DÜRNSTEIN In the heart of the Wachau wine region, where vineyards lace softly rolling hills, you'll find the ruins of the Kuenringer Castle (where Richard the Lionheart was reputedly held prisoner). Stroll the medieval cobblestone streets lined with old burgher domiciles, wine taverns, and quaint 16th-century townhouses.

VIENNA A wealth of treasures awaits you in this dynamic city, renowned as a center of classical music, art, and history. The *Mozart* will be docked here for a full day, so you can (*should!*) avail yourself of expert-led excursions: Visit the majestic Schönbrunn Palace (the summer residence of Empress Maria Theresa and the Hapsburgs), or journey to the Southern Viennese Forest and explore the 12th-century castle of Liechtenstein and the old Roman spa at Baden.

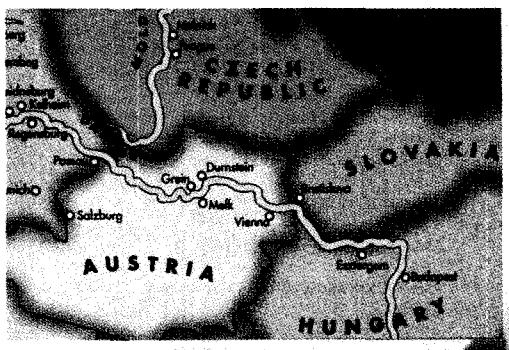
ESZTERGOM This stunning city (home to the great anti-Communist hero, Cardinal Mindzenty) boasts some of the country's most magnificent monuments and sites, including St. Adalbert's Cathedral (a replica of St. Peter's in Rome) and the remains of the Romanesque Royal Palace. The optional Szentendre tour offers the chance to visit the Museum of Margit Kovacs, the famous 20th-century artist.

BUDAPEST One of Europe's most beautiful cities (and we mean "cities": "Buda," on the Danube's right bank, is home to the ancient city, while "Pest," on the left bank, is its more modern sister). Like Vienna, the *Mozart* will visit here for a full day, so explore by foot, or grab a cab and "go to town." Walk the "Old Town" and see its superb mix of Serbian and Greek Orthodox architecture, or shop at the glorious and huge Grand Market Hall, just a stone's throw from our pier!

BRATISLAVA The Slovakian capital, situated at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, is home to the Bratislava Castle (it offers breathtaking views of three countries) and St. Martin's Cathedral. Visit the stunning Mirbach Palace on the Old Town tour.

MELK This gorgeous Austrian town is home to the world-famous Benedictine Abbey, integral to the history of Austria and clearly one of Europe's most imposing architectural masterpieces (the Baroque church is spectacular!).

GREIN A lovely Gothic city that dates back to the 11th century. The Greinburg Castle, Town Hall, Franciscan Monastery, and St. Giles, built in 1147, are popular attractions. You'll want to saunter!



Don't miss this truly special cruise: Fill out the application form on the following page, and return it by mail or fax so you can secure your stateroom. We look forward to seeing you in Europe next May on the *Mozart*, in the company of **Paul Johnson, Bill Buckley, Kate O'Beirne, Richard Brookhiser, David Pryce-Jones,** and other top conservatives on the ***National Review*** **2003 Danube River Charter Cruise.**

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NATIONAL REVIEW 2003 DANUBE RIVER CHARTER CRUISE APPLICATION

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M / L / XL) _____

Passport number (required) _____ place/date of issue _____

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M / L / XL) _____

Passport number (required) _____ place/date of issue _____

Street Mailing Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

( ) _____

Daytime Phone

E-mail address (optional) _____

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

PAYMENT

A deposit of $2,000 PER STATEROOM is due with this application.

☐ Deposit included (make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

Card Number _____ *Expiration Date* _____

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest _____

CANCELLATION INFORMATION

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to December 3, 2002*	*$75 per person*
December 3, 2002 to February 3, 2003	*$350 per person*
AFTER *February 3, 2003*	*100% of cruise/package*

CRUISE

Rates are per person, double occupancy, and include: port charges, taxes, gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal item purchases not included. Check all applicable boxes. All staterooms are similar and will be allocated on a first come/first served basis.

CABIN TYPE & RATE:

☐ Reserve our double-occupancy cabin ($3,999 per person)
☐ Reserve my single-occupancy cabin ($6,999)
☐ I'm single and am willing to share a cabin. Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

BEDDING: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES:

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to/from Munich.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see Air Cities list below). ☐ COACH ☐ BUSINESS CLASS

GENERAL INFORMATION:

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____

DINING: I wish to dine with _____

IMPORTANT

Everyone cruising will be required to bring a valid passport which does **NOT** expire before November 2, 2003. Failure to do so will result in being **DENIED** international flight privileges and boarding of the *Mozart*. Children **DO** require a valid passport.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review (NR), as agency for Peter Deilmann EuropAmerica Cruises (Deilmann), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor NR shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Make your air travel arrangements with Peter Deilmann Cruises' "Fly Cruise" Program. The following per-person coach (C) or business class (B) prices for travel aboard Lufthansa Airlines (exclusively) to and from the listed home city air gateways include transfers to and from Munich and the *Mozart*. You **cannot** use frequent flyer points or other promotions to upgrade these airfares. If you are available for the pre-cruise Munich package and make your own flight arrangements, note that there are no transfers to the hotel. Plan to arrive in Munich on May, and to depart there after 12 noon on May 11.

AZ	Phoenix	1,199C	DC	Wash/Dulles	3,855B	IL	Chicago	1,087C	MO	Kansas City	3,966B	NY	Rochester	1,055C	PA	Harrisburg	3,882B	TN	Memphis	1,109C
		3,999B	FL	Fort Lauderdale	1,166C			3,887B		St. Louis	1,166C			3,855B		Philadelphia	995C			3,909B
	Tucson	1,390C			3,966B	N	Indianapolis	1,166C			3,966B	NC	Charlotte	1,109C			3,795B		Nashville	1,109C
		4,190B		Miami	1,166C			3,966B	NJ	Newark	974C			3,909B		Pittsburgh	1,082C			3,909B
CA	Los Angeles	1,284C			3,966B	KY	Louisville	1,109C			3,774B	OK	Oklahoma City	1,191C			3,882B	UT	Salt Lake City	1,345C
		4,084B		Orlando	1,166C			3,909B	NV	Las Vegas	1,390C			3,991B	RI	Providence	1,055C			4,145B
	Sacramento	1,390C			3,966B	LA	New Orleans	1,166C			4,190B	OH	Cincinnati	1,109C			3,855B	WA	Seattle	1,366C
		4,190B		Tampa	1,166C			3,966B	NM	Albuquerque	1,345C			3,909B	TX	Austin	1,191C			4,136B
	San Francisco	1,230C			3,966B	MA	Boston	968C			4,145B		Cleveland	1,109C			3,991B	WI	Milwaukee	1,166C
		4,030B	GA	Atlanta	1,045C			3,768B	NY	Albany	1,055C			3,909B		Dallas/FW	1,147C			3,966B
CO	Denver	1,236C			3,845B	MI	Detroit	1,101C			3,855B	OR	Portland	1,336C			3,947B			
		4,036B	HI	Honolulu	2,170C			3,901B		Buffalo	1,055C			4,136B		Houston (IAH)	1,147C			
CT	Hartford	1,055C			4,970B	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	1,166C			3,855B	PA	Allentown	1,082C			3,947B			
		3,855B	ID	Boise	1,390C			3,966B		NYC/JFK	974C			3,882B		San Antonio	1,191C			
DC	Wash/Dulles	1,055C			4,190B	MO	Kansas City	1,166C			3,774B		Harrisburg	1,082C			3,991B			

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. Air fares are subject to change without prior notice. A $109pp air tax has been included in the above quoted fares, and is subject to change without prior notice. 2. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre-cruise package in Munich. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. Air costs may be slightly higher for guests purchasing a post-cruise package. 3. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, and should you be eligible for the pre-cruise package in Munich, note that transfers from the airport to the Hilton Hotel in Munich are not included. Transfers from the Hotel to the ship and the ship to the Hotel are included. Schedule your arrival in Munich for May 2nd (afternoon). Your return flight from Munich should not be arranged before 12:00 noon on May 11th. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule,Peter Deilmann Cruises charges $75pp for this service and there may also be an increase in the cost of the flight. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. If one of the home gateways listed above isn't convenient for you, you may arrange to fly to New York/JFK, Newark/EWR, or Washington Dulles/IAD in order to connect to the trans-Atlantic flight. Trans-Atlantic flights typically depart between 4PM and 7PM–yplan to arrive in Munich by 2pm EST. Call The Cruise Authority for details.

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

The Campaign Diaries Very Special Mopping Up™ Edition

From the diary of Terry McAuliffe:

. . . which, in some ways, is actually a "win" for us, in the sense that by winning, the Republicans have, in a sense, "lost" by "gaining seats," to use the media's term—a term that is really accurate only if, when you say "gaining," you mean "increasing"—which isn't really all that accurate. You don't say, "Would you please consider 'gaining' your contribution to the Democratic party, Miss Streisand?" Of course not. So in almost every possible way we are uniquely positioned to win big next time around. In fact, I'm actually happy about the election results—no, really—because of the opportunities they create. I mean, we really should be celebrating, actually. We won. In a very real sense, it was a solid victory for our team. In fact, any way you slice it . . .

From the diary of Barbra Streisand:

. . . and they very kindly agreed to expedite my application for a private detective's license, for which I was very grateful. Because a lot of things don't add up. The actual specifications for the kind of plane that Senator Wellstone was flying that fateful day are familiar to me via the Internet search engine "Google," and if what I read there is accurate—and it's on the Internet, after all—then if the rudder pin and trip-back steel housing it attached to was improperly oiled—again, oil! it's always about oil!—it could create a metal fatigue situation that would go undetected by most observers. Which is just what they were counting on, isn't it? Curiouser and curiouser . . .

From the diary of Dick Gephardt:

. . . and I guess I just thought that we'd all be resigning together, you know, like a group, the three of us, Daschle, McAuliffe, and me, so imagine my surprise when I was the only one to show up at the press conference . . .

From the diary of Al Gore:

Excellent! Dame Fortune's mysterious wheel once again spins! How easy it is to bend others to my wishes! How easy it is to twist and turn their tiny brains to my desires! My needs! They laughed at me, all of them, laughed and joked and pointed their bony fingers at me and shrieked, "Al Gore! What a loser!" and now it is they, THEY, who are the losers! What irony. It delights me. For soon I will destroy the pretenders and the false witnesses, and they, like their forebears in the unholy cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, will come to know my majesty and to taste of my terrible vengeance. And I shall be called "King." And others shall tremble and bow lest my wrath be turned to them. "King." "Lord and Overseer of His Dominion." But hide, thoughts! Hide deep inside! Be the sad clown for but two more years. Then unleash your fury! On to New Hampshire!

From the diary of Trent Lott:

. . . just a wonderful, wonderful night. The kind of night when anything can happen. A magical night. What I call a "Hair Moving Night"—and boy, when I was up there pumping the air and getting my back slapped and waving to the crowd I could feel a few strands up there just cutting loose and it wasn't until later that I could get to some spray and really tack it down with the back of my hand . . .

From the diary of Jim Jeffords:

. . . an act of conscience, which let me tell you, I do not regret. Not at all. Not one little tiny bit. They'll eventually get tired of their little jokes and pranks and move on, I know. They'll get tired of secretly unscrewing the wheels of my desk chair so I fall backwards in the morning. They'll get tired of sending me 400 pizzas. They'll get tired of hiring little African American kids to stand in the gallery and point to me and shout "Hi, daddy! Why don't you come home no more?" and that sort of thing. They'll move on. They'll forget. They'll stop using superglue on the mouthpiece of my phone so when I . . .

From the diary of George W. Bush:

Flew all around. Made some good speeches. Some really super great speeches. Candidates. Some really fantastic great candidates. Cheering crowds. That sort of thing. Got home. Stayed up. Watched the news reports. Returns coming in. Jeb won. Really great. So did Jim. Saxby. Norm. John. That kind of thing. Had a cigar. Went to bed. Laura said, "Great news, George." Next day, got up. Got into the terrorism war. Iraq. That sort of thing. Later, got into SEC mess. Had a turkey sandwich. Big glass of iced tea. Really terrific apple, too. Just a fantastic apple. Read a few memos while munching on that apple. That sort of thing . . .

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Voices of the One God

MICHAEL POTEMRA

The Prophets: Who They Were, What They Are, by Norman Podhoretz (Free Press, 390 pp., $30)

"BEHOLD, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanu-el." The time is the late 8th century B.C., and the speaker is Isaiah the prophet; he is telling Ahaz, the king of Judah, about a sign of hope that will soon be manifested in his war-threatened kingdom. This, at least, was how the verse was understood for the centuries before the birth of Jesus; but since the advent of Christianity, exegetes eager to find confirmation of the story of Jesus' virgin birth have read "virgin" for "young woman." Surely, they say, the Church—as the inheritor and thus the new "copyright holder" of the Hebrew Scriptures—has the right to amend the traditional understanding in the light of the new, greater truth.

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." This passage appears in both the prophecy of Isaiah and the book of Isaiah's contemporary, the prophet Micah. Its actual author and date are unknown, but its context in the Scripture is clear: It refers to a future situation of peace and prosperity, which will obtain after Israel has defeated its enemies and won a global victory for its God. This, at least, is how the passage was understood until the emergence of liberal agnosticism—which saw in this prophecy the outline of a peaceful and just human society that can be brought about by human hands. Surely, they say,

Norman Podhoretz by Roman Genn

liberalism—as the inheritor of the Hebrew ethical system—is right to build its institutions according to this prophetic blueprint, and equally right to discard anything in the blueprint that smacks of theology or tribalism.

To the Christians in the first example and the secularists in the second, Norman Podhoretz says: Not so fast. The prophets have their own message, which deserves to be heard and understood in its own integrity before being appropriated in the service of other agendas, no matter how apparently noble. Podhoretz is famous as a combative political essayist, but in this excellent new book he leaves his habitual arena for the dramatically different world of impartial religious scholarship—and ends up making a very strong contribution to public understanding of the Hebrew prophets. They were, he concludes, not chiefly interested in predicting Christianity, or in propagandizing for secular social justice; they were, rather, engaged in a very this-worldly struggle against the particular challenges of idolatry in their own time and place.

Podhoretz's training as a literary critic is evident in the seriousness and sensitivity with which he examines the Biblical texts. His response to those who see the "Immanu-el" passage (Isaiah 7:14) as a prophecy of the virgin birth is a case in point. He notes that the Hebrew uses the word *ha-almah*, "young woman."

> The problem is that the word for virgin in Hebrew is *b'tulah*, and since that very word appears twice within the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah (and twice more in Chapters 40–66), it seems highly unlikely that the author or editor of 7:14, whoever he may have been, would not have used it here if what he had wanted to say was "virgin."

Similarly, in arguing against the secular messianists who seek to build the peaceable kingdom without reference to God, Podhoretz pays close attention to the Scriptural contexts from which their favorite passages have been ripped. The swords being beaten into plowshares, the lions lying down with lambs, and so on all coexist with the harshest of rebukes to idolaters and the bloodiest analyses of real-life power politics. The same chapter of Micah that tells us about the nations never learning war again (4:3) also proclaims, a few lines farther down, that God "will make your horn iron and your hoofs bronze; you shall beat in pieces many peoples, and shall devote their gain to the Lord, their wealth to the Lord of the whole earth" (4:13).

Combining the two passages—as Micah or his editors actually did, by putting them so close together in the first place—we see a prophetic vision of a world at peace because bloody war has been fought and won on behalf of the Lord. It is a vision of peace through strength, one Podhoretz goes so far as to call a "*pax Israelitica*."

Podhoretz's thesis is not, it is clear, designed to be palatable to universalists of various stripes. He writes that the message of the prophets has not been appropriately "transcended" and universalized in the religious sphere by the

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Christians, nor in the geopolitical sphere by the secularists; it has, rather, been misunderstood and mangled in both cases. But it would be wrong to view this important work as primarily a polemic against these adversaries. In the case of the Christians, Podhoretz explicitly disavows any intention of "engaging in a dispute with anyone who believes that Jesus was the Messiah":

> As a Jew, I am by definition not among [the Christian believers], but the last thing in the world I want to do is challenge [their] faith. What I do feel it necessary to challenge, however, is the idea held by many pious Christians throughout the past two millennia that the Book of Isaiah foretells the coming of their faith.

As for today's liberal secularists, he reserves his strictures against them for his final chapter, to which I will return momentarily.

What this book is, above all, is a call for honesty—and modesty. Podhoretz's foremost concern is that the prophets be allowed to speak in their own voices; this is therefore a scholar's work, an attempt to understand the prophets as they understood themselves.

And in this task, Podhoretz succeeds admirably. The bulk of the book is a reading of the Hebrew Bible as the chronicle of a highly unusual struggle within a people, the Israelites, who have somehow, mysteriously, been chosen by God. This people bears a specific message—a code of both ethics and ritual—that has the stamp of the divine upon it, and that is copiously authenticated by the various wonders performed by its Author. And yet: No sooner has this people witnessed its liberation—by God—from an enslaving power than it suddenly decides to attribute the glory of this miraculous act to the statue of a calf. This will become the pattern for Israel throughout its canonical history: It will reject, again and again, the one true God for various pagan idols. And, again and again, the chief force calling the people of Israel back to the true God will be the *navi* or prophet.

The prophets—from Abraham, Aaron, and Elijah, through Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, down to the post-exilic Malachi and Second Zechariah—have been animated by the single key goal of waging war on the idolatry rampant among the Israelites. They viewed themselves as fighters for an ancient and particular faith that happens to have been revealed by God.

■

Podhoretz has written a balanced, intelligent, and exciting history of ancient Israel.

■

Podhoretz makes a convincing case, based on many hundreds of Biblical citations—so many, indeed, that the book has a value entirely independent from its thesis: It can stand as a balanced, intelligent, and excitingly written history of ancient Israel. Adding to the story's immediacy, source notes—including Scriptural chapter-and-verse numbers—are relegated to the book's back pages. This makes a greater difference than one might expect, because it underscores the fact that the prophets did not think of themselves as writing a canonical Scripture; what they were doing was defending their ancient faith in a very specific religio-political situation. It is only because they did so with great power and eloquence that their words later became Scripture.

Podhoretz's subtitle promises to tell us not just who the prophets were but also "what they are." And that brings us to the book's last chapter, which tries to discover the meaning of the prophets' message for contemporary society. Podhoretz has set himself an unenviable task here, because he has just spent a few hundred pages arguing that others have obscured the truth about the prophets in order to further their own agendas; if he were to reveal, in his final chapter, that the Hebrew prophets were actually American neoconservatives *avant la lettre*, he would run the risk of being attacked for doing precisely the same thing.

It comes as quite a relief, therefore, when the final chapter turns out to be an exhortation to moral engagement, accompanied by a warning against the temptation to self-righteousness that is inherent in moral passion. It is here that Podhoretz takes on, mildly but firmly, the contemporary utopians whose "tumultuous moral and political ambitions . . . wipe out all doubt about their own virtue and about the wickedness of any who might be misled by 'moral realism' into entertaining so much as a smidgen of skepticism."

Skepticism as the proper attitude toward ambitious schemes: This is a very Burkean concept. No less Burkean is Podhoretz's observation that "in moral idealism . . . there is little if any tolerance for human weakness." Both of these observations betoken the true modesty of the genuine monotheist, who recognizes that, in God, there is an authority beyond himself. But this modesty has two sides. In addition to the first—an unwillingness to judge harshly the failings of others—there is a willingness to stand up for divine truth, as one understands it, at the risk of being defeated and humiliated.

And even at the risk of being wrong: Podhoretz details with bracing honesty the predictions of the prophets that did *not* come true. This is in fact one of the most eloquent arguments for the overall veracity of the Bible: If the Bible were a purely human invention, wouldn't its editors have been smart

An Icon Drawn in Wax on Cloth

(After Manuel Philes, *c.* 1275–1345)

Now by what art or magic
Were you captured here,
Madonna, in this fabric;
How come the wax running from fire
Did not burn through the cloth?
Lord, Who once appeared
As a burning bush, thriving on
What could not be consumed,
I see You, resolved in truth,
Arise from an artist's fire.
Maybe You poured a potion
From heaven on the torch
He held who made this drawing,
So even strangers to church
Beholding the virgin's face,
Cannot but admit the grace
That dims the flames of suffering.

—Daniel Mark Epstein

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enough to correct its failed prophecies, to delete its self-contradictions? (Similarly, if the Bible were just a pro-Israelite geopolitical tract, wouldn't the editors have left out the mountains of detail about Israel's sins and crimes?)

But the prophets—many of whom were understandably reluctant—knew that their mission was not in the service of their own egos. They were not standing athwart their time because they themselves were superior to its shortcomings; they did so, rather, because God was superior to those shortcomings, and He told them what to say. In the recent controversy about the U.S. intelligence failures concerning 9/11, it has been observed that some agencies have the self-protective rule, "We may not always be right, but we are never wrong." The prophet is not allowed this mantle of self-protection; his ego must be sacrificed.

Podhoretz locates today's central idolatry in the worship of self, and the consequent social antinomianism. But even here a genuine prophet's modesty is visible. Podhoretz is speaking as a monotheist, one who emerges from a particular tradition, but he does not require that one accept his religious premises:

> We need not believe in heaven and hell—or even, if it comes to that, in God, let alone the God of the Hebrew Bible—in order to accept that our lives are governed by laws whose "terms" we all know in our "inmost hearts"; that people who obey those laws will be blessed; and that people who disobey them will be cursed. . . . One can serve God without being aware that He exists; one can even do so (if, as with the ancient empires, it suits His plan) through wickedness. And if one can all unawares serve God through wickedness, how much more so can one serve Him through virtue—even while denying Him?

Podhoretz acknowledges that his views on these matters are "heterodox." But there is a truth at the heart of them that the canonical prophets would have acknowledged: that there is a "still, small voice" in the human soul. Is this voice a divine mandate, or is it the natural law of the philosophers? These questions will be asked until the end of time. In the meantime, let us ask—as Norman Podhoretz has done in this marvelous book—what that voice has said, and continues to say. **NR**

Welcoming the Enemy

MARK KRIKORIAN

Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals, and Other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores, by Michelle Malkin (Regnery, 332 pp., $27.95)

EVEN more than other areas of the law, immigration policy tends to be made by anecdote. Every Woodward-and-Bernstein wannabe is an easy mark for open-borders groups trying to get immigrant sob stories into print. Until he retired in December of last year, Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* was one of the worst immigrant-anecdote peddlers in journalism. Especially after the 1996 immigration-law changes, he wrote a column practically every week on hapless immigrants ground down by the fascistic INS—a Chinese businesswoman who was barred from entering the U.S.; a Barbadian illegal alien whose deportation, after being repeatedly postponed, was finally to be carried out; a Turk being deported for nothing more than a little drug-dealing; et al., ad nauseam.

Well, goodbye, Tony Lewis; and hello, Michelle Malkin.

Malkin's new book, *Invasion*, counters these anecdotes with compelling stories of the fallout from our failure to enforce the immigration law. She tells us not only about the individual terrorists, criminals, and other foreign menaces, but also about their victims. She devotes an entire chapter to the case of Angel Resendiz, the illegal-alien Railway Killer, including capsule profiles of the people he murdered—people like Noemi Dominguez, a 26-year-old former schoolteacher in Texas, who was raped and beaten to death by Resendiz in 1999. Malkin also tells the stories of police officers murdered by aliens who should not have been out on the street—stories such as the murder of Sgt. Ricky Timbrook of Winchester, Va., who was shot in the head by Edward Nathaniel Bell, an immigrant from Jamaica scheduled to be deported for earlier crimes.

Malkin's chapter on human-rights violators from abroad taking up residence in America includes the tale of Kelbessa Negewo, a sadistic secret policeman from Ethiopia who was granted political asylum in 1988 and U.S. citizenship seven years later. In a chapter sporting as its title the unofficial motto of immigration lawyers—"It Ain't Over 'Til the Alien Wins"—she includes brief descriptions of various immigrant lowlifes who have gamed the system to avoid deportation. One such is German immigrant Stephanie Short, who was convicted of encouraging her three-year-old daughter to submit to sexual assault at the hands of her stepfather—but was not deported because she supposedly had not committed a "crime of moral turpitude"!

Malkin's use of anecdotes differs from that in much of the previous debate over immigrants' vices and virtues, in that it focuses not on immigration policy as a whole but simply on enforcement of the law. Rather than generalizing from individual stories—some immigrants are criminals, so end all immigration or, conversely, some immigrants are geniuses, so end all border controls—Malkin's emphasis is on profiling bad guys who would not have been able to do what they did had the existing law been applied. But the book is not simply a collection of anecdotes. Unlike most journalists writing about immigrants, Malkin, a Philadelphia-born daughter of Filipino immigrants, actually learned something about our immigration system and uses the profiles of individual immigrants to flesh out her picture.

And it's a grim picture indeed. She starts, naturally, with the 9/11 hijackers, and examines how they got here. She describes the myriad ways terrorists have penetrated our nation: lax border security; fraudulent marriages to U.S. citizens; bogus asylum claims; illegal-alien amnesties; lax standards in issuing visas for workers, students, clergymen, and wealthy investors; the visa lottery; and the Visa Waiver Program.

Mr. Krikorian is the executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies.

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In explaining this, she does, of course, excoriate the INS for its many scandals—crooked or incompetent employees, Clintonian bureaucrats lying to Congress, unbelievable technological snafus. But rather than leave it at that, as too many observers do, she digs deeper, to find out why we have such a ridiculous system in the first place. In two chapters—"Pandering While Osama Plots" and "The Profiteers" (another virtue of this book is that you couldn't flip through it at Borders and claim not to know the author's point of view)—she lays out the rogues' gallery of groups responsible for our inept immigration system: politicians kowtowing to Hispanic voters by promoting illegal-alien amnesties; ethnic pressure-groups trying to get driver's licenses for illegal aliens; local governments declaring themselves sanctuaries for illegals; universities seeking ever more foreign students, even if they're in the country illegally, and resisting any measures to track such students; the American Immigration Lawyers Association, "a powerful lobbying network against all major immigration reforms during the past four decades"; and, perhaps worst of all, the corporate rope-sellers, like the travel and tourism industries (which seek to speed foreigners into the U.S. at any cost), or banks eagerly seeking the deposits of illegal aliens, or employers of cheap immigrant labor, or border-town chambers of commerce.

Mass immigration is, in truth, an enormous boon to the Democratic party.

Malkin's discussion of these "profiteers" suggests a topic for her next book—a more in-depth examination of the individuals, organizations, and industries pushing for weak immigration controls. In *Invasion*, she outs the corporate miscreants and their libertarian fellow-travelers—but we also need to know more about the leftists, the people who love immigration because they hate America. This information would be especially important for those conservatives who, like the president himself, have been duped with fairy tales about shifts in the Hispanic vote toward the GOP. This hoax is actually being peddled by those on the Left who realize that mass immigration is, in truth, an enormous boon to the Democratic party. I think Malkin would do a great job digging into the background of open-borders activists like Jeanne Butterfield; it's already known that before becoming executive director of the abovementioned American Immigration Lawyers Association, Butterfield was director of the Palestine Solidarity Committee, a Marxist group linked to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Malkin's book is a valuable contribution to popular understanding of how our immigration system actually works, and her policy prescriptions are generally sound, as far as they go. There is no question that, in Malkin's concluding words, "It's time to take out the trash, fix the holes in our fences, and defend Lady Liberty from all those who would trespass against her."

But there's more to it than that. In her assessment of the causes of our illegal-immigration mess, and the way out of it, Malkin shies away from identifying the elephant in the living room: mass immigration itself. No matter how honest or competent or technologically proficient the INS was to become, there is simply no way it could efficiently and securely manage today's unprecedented volume of immigration. Last year, more than a million green cards were issued, not to mention another million-plus long-term "temporary" visas. If the agency is going to be able to reform itself, take on vast new security responsibilities, and resume enforcing the law, it needs breathing room, and that can come only from curbs on immigration.

Facing this reality has been difficult for many, especially on the right, who genuinely want to shut the "back door" of illegal immigration but keep open the "front door" of massive legal immigration. The impossibility of such an approach is becoming increasingly apparent, and I expect that Malkin and other conservatives, whatever their prior ideological or emotional tendencies, will come to realize that the level of immigration is the real root of the problem. With that caveat, I highly recommend *Invasion* to anyone interested in why our homeland is so vulnerable to our enemies. **NR**

Oslo and Other Illusions

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

The High Cost of Peace: How Washington's Middle East Policy Left America Vulnerable to Terrorism, by Yossef Bodansky (Prima, 652 pp., $27.95)

On a fine September day in 1993, the so-called Oslo peace process reached its zenith in a signing ceremony on the White House lawn. With the expression on his face of one who was soothing a great deal of other people's pain, President Clinton shepherded Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres for the Israelis, and Yasser Arafat for the Palestinians, to the table to wield their pens and commit themselves to a program of negotiation in place of the customary violence. The lamb was to lie down with the lion, and nobody any longer need spell out which party was the lamb and which the lion. Normality at last had reached the Middle East, and Clinton could anticipate a Nobel

Mr. Pryce-Jones is a senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW. He is the author of *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, recently reissued by Ivan R. Dee.

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prize and a place in the history books.

A handful of people had the temerity to question the wisdom of this peace process. Terror, they pointed out, was the sole medium in which Arafat had ever operated, in Israel as well as in Jordan and Lebanon and other Arab countries. Prior to the Oslo peace process, he was safely quarantined in exile, far away in Tunis. To bring him back into the center of the conflict with Israel, to set him up in Gaza and the West Bank as head of an embryo Palestinian state, was to encourage him to raise the stakes with yet more inventive terror. Such critics were dismissed as pessimists, congenital conservatives unable to adapt to the new sensitivities of the times.

And besides, the defenders of the Oslo peace process further insisted, the Arab world divides irreconcilably between nationalists who see Muslims as loyal to a particular state, and Islamists who see Muslims as loyal to a religious cause transcending all states. Arafat is a nationalist. Give him a militia and weapons and security forces trained by the CIA and he would be bound to suppress the Islamists and their challenge. The unspoken premise of the Oslo accords was that Arafat would in effect be carrying out the policing of Palestinians, which the Israelis had neither the wish nor the capacity to do. "The more you give them, the more they'll have to lose," was the mantra in Washington.

Almost ten years on, events have proved that the worst expectations of the pessimists were justified. The peace process has proved an illusion, a mirage. The more you give Arafat, it turns out, the more he expects. In wild and repeated exhortations, he calls for the Palestinian flag to wave over Christian and Jewish sites, and he evidently believes that the collapse of the state of Israel is a real prospect in the near future. As Palestinian suicide bombers take humanity to a new low, Arafat likes to insist that he too is ready and willing to be a martyr for the cause. In league with Saddam Hussein and cozying up to the ayatollahs of Iran, he does what he can to incite a wider regional war. This isn't exactly fanaticism, because he knows very well what he is doing: He is fostering a death-cult for his unfortunate people.

■

This book presents the Oslo peace process as an exercise in wishful thinking.

■

Yossef Bodansky is director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare. Author of a bestselling book about Osama bin Laden, he recognizes terror when he sees it. *The High Cost of Peace* is a formidable and sustained attack on the Oslo peace process, presenting it from first to last as an exercise in wishful thinking. President Clinton's compelling need to have a "legacy" for the history books was preposterous in its vanity. Rabin and Peres, and then Ehud Barak succeeding them as prime minister, were equally smug in their good opinion of themselves, and equally deluded about their political skills. They all preferred to believe what they wanted to believe rather than respect facts. Between the lot of them, they almost destroyed Israel, and gravely prejudiced the standing of the United States, whose policies appeared so feeble and wavering that extremists all over the Muslim world felt free to resort to terror against it.

In Bodansky's view, Arafat never for a moment considered genuine compromise with Israel. Out in Tunis, he had been stuck in a terminal dead end. In an unexpected and undeserved turn of fortune, Clinton and the Oslo peace process allowed him to reenact Homer's famous tale of the Wooden Horse, the subterfuge whereby the Greeks were able to enter Troy undetected and then capture the city; Arafat's colleague in Jerusalem, Faisal al-Husseini, actually resorted to this very image in public. Installed in Palestine as a mini-dictator with absolute power and control of finances, Arafat was once more in a position to confront Israel directly and to involve other Arab leaders in his ambitions. In the English language, he repeats that he is seeking "the peace of the brave"—but in Arabic he promises total victory and orders violence to that end. His conviction is that a state comes into existence only in the sort of warfare that endows it with a heroic founding myth.

Duplicity has served him well. Under the peace process, Israel had committed itself to concessions, and Arafat pocketed them. Appetite grows with eating, as the French proverb has it. Israel has increasingly ceded territory and independence to Arafat, only to discover that he always demands more and more in return for less and less. Whenever frustrated, he unleashes violence incrementally, and, it must be admitted, skillfully in its horrible way. Any failure on Israel's part to respond means passive acceptance of loss, sometimes with many people killed and scores more wounded. But retaliation, too, has its price. The moment Israel takes military measures to defend itself, Arafat pleads with the U.S. to put a halt to the cycle of violence that he himself has originated.

Clinton and his officials, notably Warren Christopher and Madeleine Albright and the State Department as a whole, and of course the CIA, fell lock, stock, and barrel for this strategy, and duly pressured Israel to accommodate Arafat rather than punish and deter him. Arafat acted, then, but Israel took the heat for reacting. Naïvely, the Clinton administration helped to create the climate of opinion in which Israel is held to be aggressive when it defends itself, imperialist in its search for security, and generally victimizer rather than victim. The consequent widespread demonization of Israel in liberal opinion is Arafat's greatest achievement.

In detail which can seem burdensome, Bodansky recounts how the peace process unfolded, with one negotiation after another at various places in the U.S., leading to the Camp David summit in July 2000. At that point, Barak offered unprecedented Israeli concessions, only to hear Arafat as usual demanding more; in this case, the unqualified return of Palestinian refugees—which is his equivalent of the nuclear weapon, because it can only mean the demographic swamping of Israel. Arafat immediately ordered

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the renewal of the intifada; the peace process died, and with it the hopes of the Palestinians for a state, not to mention Clinton's Nobel prize.

The Middle East was not a vacuum filled by the peace process, but a complex arena in which Israel and Palestine were only two of the actors. Other more influential Arab and Muslim leaders have interests and policies of their own. An axis exists, as Bodansky describes it, between Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Various contradictions and enmities separate these three, to be sure, but all agree on the desirability of destroying Israel. To that purpose, they have schemed with some success to enroll Egypt and Saudi Arabia. They also sponsor proxies including Arafat's PLO, the Islamists of Hamas, and the Hezbollah in Lebanon. The distinction between nationalist and Islamist groups is now blurred, as all are engaged in the wider campaign against Israel.

During the years of the peace process, Bodansky also argues, American and Israeli failure to understand the dynamics of the Arab and Muslim world created the image of a weak Israel and so kept the Middle East on the brink of war. As part of their willful refusal to understand reality, Clinton and his officials kept on badgering Israel to appease Syria with proposals for peace and the return of territory as comprehensive as those offered to Arafat. Out of self-deception as well as eagerness to keep Clinton and the U.S. sweet, Peres and then Barak were once again prepared to make the concessions demanded of them. Barak indeed pulled Israeli units and their local Lebanese allies out of a security zone in southern Lebanon without obtaining anything in return, in effect surrendering unconditionally. Claiming this as victory, Hezbollah is now in a position to cross the Israeli border or to fire missiles inland whenever ordered by Syria or Iran to do so. Concessions of this sort, says Bodansky, have endangered security to the point where Israel has "virtually lost its sovereignty."

Bodansky judges that senior Israeli military staff and intelligence were almost alone in giving realistic advice. Bad faith, misrepresentation, and outright betrayal of trust are essential elements in his description of Clinton and his advisers, and most of the relevant Arab leaders and Israeli politicians as well. On one occasion, for instance, Clinton gave orders to his ambassador in Israel to leak false information to influence elections there; and on another occasion he is supposed to have handed to Hafez al-Assad, president of Syria, a list of senior officers who had approached American diplomats with a view to staging a coup in Damascus. All were arrested.

Bodansky is particularly scornful about the way that the Lewinsky scandal influenced Clinton's conduct of policy. He castigates CIA chief George Tenet as "Arafat's most loyal supporter." Barak he finds "inexcusable," and he also records how once when Peres was pleading on the telephone with Arafat to revive the peace process, Arafat could not stifle his giggles. Among themselves, it seems, Arafat and his cronies refer to Peres as Abu Limon—the father of the lemon—because he is so easy to squeeze.

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Bodansky says concessions have endangered security to the point where Israel has 'virtually lost its sovereignty.'

■

Is this all true, or only the perception of a disenchanted hardliner? Bodansky certainly goes in for sweeping assertions for which he provides no substantiation. The book is free of footnotes and has thriller-writer scenes for which there are no likely witnesses—for example, Hosni Mubarak, president of Egypt, angling to have his son succeed him; or meetings at which the sons of Saddam Hussein and their counterparts in Syria and Iran come to agreements. Bodansky sometimes seems to be in overdrive, for instance stating as fact that Basil al-Assad, Bashar's elder brother and the heir presumptive to the presidency of Syria, was assassinated, though the official story is that he died in a car crash. One pair of Hamas suicide bombers were allegedly infected with hepatitis B in the hopes that their scattered body parts would spread the disease to Israelis; and when Secretary of State Powell was on an official visit to Israel in April 2002, the PLO apparently tried to murder him.

With the book's main thrust, though, there can be no arguing. Frivolous in conception, the Oslo peace process brought war closer. Slowly but surely, under its cover, Arab nationalists and Islamists were realizing that their ideologies are compatible and mutually reinforcing. Nobody was listening to those who sounded warnings, and today's war on terror therefore comes to the Western world as a nasty surprise. That is Clinton's legacy. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

Ghost Image, by Joshua Gilder (Simon & Schuster, 368 pp., $23)

REAGAN speechwriter Joshua Gilder has donned a new hat, that of novelist. In this, his first effort, Gilder tells the dark and suspenseful story of a plastic surgeon, Jackson Maebry, whose girlfriend arrives in the emergency room badly beaten and bruised beyond recognition. As the tale unravels, Jackson realizes how little he knew about his lover, and the reader begins to discern shadows in the surgeon's own life. The result is an exciting mystery story that is almost impossible to put down.

Hospitals have always been a popular backdrop for sitcoms and soap operas, from *Dr. Kildare* and *Marcus Welby, M.D.* to today's *E.R.* and *Scrubs*. But in most cases, the white lab coats and stethoscopes are just props used in the service of the human drama, and could just as easily be swapped with the gear of lawyers, policemen, or cowboys. This is not the case with *Ghost Image*, where surgeries and X-rays themselves propel the plot forward. Gilder obviously took great care in making the medical details accurate and realistic, and his success shows through in the dramatic weight they carry.

Jackson Maebry is a strong main character—flawed, frustratingly dense at times, and very human. Such a dark tale can only end somberly, but it ends powerfully as well. We are left hoping that Mr. Gilder will write another novel, and then more.

—SARAH MASERATI

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■ CITY DESK ■

The Eternal Round

RICHARD BROOKHISER

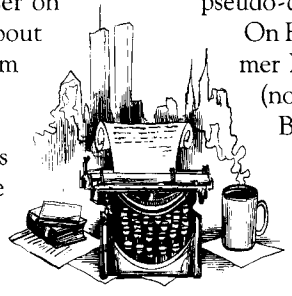
SOMERSET MAUGHAM said that if you sat in the Café de la Paix in Paris long enough, everyone would pass by. The force of his observation depends on grasping the full meaning of passing by. Everyone will appear, and, just as suddenly, disappear. At the Café de la Paix, or in New York, you are constantly, briefly, meeting people and things and losing them forever.

Leave French bikinis on Hawaiian island girls to the Beach Boys; sunny beaches have time and space for baking and staring. The ideally urban woman's fashion is the long slit skirt under a long coat. Worn over a jaunty stride, they show a little leg—a very little leg. Calves and knees appear like dots in Morse code. It is voyeurism by strobe light, display in homeopathic doses. Who needs the expense and mutual degradation of peep shows? These are public, free, and voluntary.

The ideal urban form of poetry is the haiku. Japanese haiku are meant to capture a momentary perception of the unity or the transience of nature. Cawing crows are like winter; snowing cherry blossoms are like life. City life makes it own haiku by yanking the mind from object to object. No poet at first glance looks less like a miniaturist than the mountainous Brooklynite Walt Whitman. But his word heaps turn out to be haiku-length perceptions raked together: "The paving-man leans on his two-handed rammer—the reporter's lead flies swiftly over the note-book—the sign-painter is lettering with red and gold . . ."

Sounds pelt us as unforgivingly as sights. Left to its own internal logic, the din of city life would become unendurable. The legions of sanity fight endless frontier war against the roar. In the early Eighties earphones muzzled radio, and Giuliani, a decade later, cracked down on the boom boxes of the incorrigible. But then cell phones proliferated. What was worse, the bass hooks of rappers or the sprightly *William Tell* Overtures that signal incoming calls? The urban chorus reached a climax in my gym when, for a year or so, you could hear the radio (generally hip-hop), the TV (generally a psychopathic talk show), and the thunder of 75-lb. free weights hitting the floor after a set of chest presses. Now that the management keeps the TV on mute it feels like the country.

Wrapped in your own thoughts, you nevertheless show your thoughts to the world. In the subway car the Chinese man reads a textbook on programming, the Japanese man reads a Brazilian newspaper, the Hispanic woman reads the Bible, the kid underlines *Jane Eyre*. Zealots occasionally leave their thoughts on the seat for others. The bearded young man ostentatiously puts down his *Daily Worker* (though I haven't seen that for a while), the Hasidic man leaves a flier about Nazi-like archeological digs in Israel, the pamphlet with a clever teaser on its cover turns out to be about Christ. What a symposium they would all make, but they will never meet each other, or you; the train pulls into 51st Street and they are off to Queens.



Sometimes you get an extra moment of listening, seeing, or appreciation. I was waiting for a bus in the Port Authority when I overheard two young men who worked there; one was reading a hip-hop magazine. Jam Master Jay had just been murdered, but they were also discussing 'Pac (Tupac Shakur), an earlier victim.

FIRST MAN: The government killed him. You know why? He sell two-three million records, what if they all vote?

SECOND MAN (turning the pages): Naw, Suge killed him. (Suge Knight is a producer who was riding in the same car with Tupac when he was shot, and this is a popular conspiracy theory.)

FIRST MAN (immediately dropping his conspiracy theory): What do you mean?

SECOND MAN: Suge is so *fat*. How come he wasn' hit when 'Pac was shot?

I have no pat summary: This world seems too different. Yet we are all Americans, and if we were plunked in Nigeria or Japan or even Mexico, would be acutely conscious of the fact.

Another time, I was sitting at the same desk at which I am now writing this. I looked up to see a young man roughly handling a young woman. They were framed in a tall window across the street from me, and several floors down. The room they were in is, at least part time, a photographer's studio. Their backs were to me; she was kneeling in front of him, and he repeatedly shoved her down onto her hands as well. The action was too fast for a video; from their youth and stylishness I assumed a fashion shoot. Maybe in a doctor's waiting room I will see the couple from the front, with sullen high-cheeked faces, a suggestion of domination, and a display of fancy duds. I will flip on, through the next fifty ads, all equally portentous. In half an hour the window was dark; the principals have gone on to many other pseudo-dramas.

On Fifth Avenue, outside the former B. Altman department store (now the Science, Industry, and Business Library), I saw a man at work. The streets and sidewalks are full of performers—clog dancers, steel-drum players, traffic cops—but these are not as compelling as workers glimpsed in the midst of their labors. I was riding in a taxi, and going quite fast: The green lights were flowing, and the avenue shoots downhill there. In midstream rode a bicycle messenger. He was no more reckless than it takes to thread a 25-pound machine among vehicles of several tons. The motorists were driving far more wildly than he, zipping and swerving. Professional and intent, he pedaled as fast as they drove, keeping a skin of space between him and all comers. After one swipe, he put his left hand on the right rear-view mirror of the car alongside him, and pushed off. It was oh-so-slightly dismissive, and very cool. I was glad I saw it. **NR**

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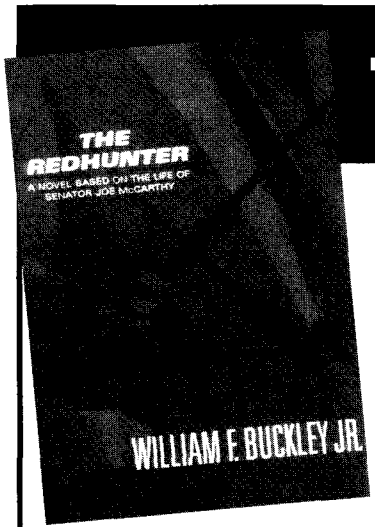

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Burying Wellstone

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 1

THERE was even speculation about how Paul Wellstone would have reacted to his own memorial service. The first hour was reverential, but the world knows what then happened, namely a frenetic political rally. One television executive was quoted as saying the three hours—which is how long it stretched out—should not have been broadcast but that it would have been "disrespectful" to tune off when the frenzy began. So, on it went into however many millions of television receivers.

The implicit (and indeed, here and there explicit) premise of the orators was that Paul Wellstone's tragic death imposed an obligation on the voters of Minnesota to vote for the Democratic candidate (Walter Mondale). There is a sense in which the logic of this claim was true to the spirit of the deceased. Senator Wellstone would advertise his positions, on food, pharmaceuticals, education, and peace in parallel language. If you oppose starvation, vote this way on the farm bill, if you grieve for the sick, vote against high drug prices, if you favor the education of children, vote to raise the minimum wage—or, rather, vote to raise the teachers' salaries and reduce their obligations.

He voted against giving the first President Bush authority to take on the Gulf War to resist the aggression of the Iraqis. Eleven years later, he voted against giving the incumbent President Bush authority to proceed against Iraq. He did not specify the means by which the United States, saddled with its preeminence as a superpower, should exercise it to discourage aggression, or the threat of it, or the cultivation of apocalyptic weaponry by men more evil even than Senator Jesse Helms. Onlookers put it down simply to the continuing lure of isolationism in parts of the country.

Walter Mondale instantly inscribed himself as a true believer of the populist mode of the late senator. Actually, Mondale is not that bad. Wellstone scored 100 year after year with the ADA, which would give Trotsky 110. The American Conservative Union gave the deceased a score of 4, and here is an expression of contemporary political polarities.

The last time Fritz Mondale went big time was when he was nominated for president in 1984. What happened recalls the mischievous explanation of Raymond Moley, seasoned political handicapper. In 1956 the grimly populist Estes Kefauver defeated aristocratic quipster Adlai Stevenson in the Minnesota Democratic presidential primary. How could that be? Moley offered an explanation: "Did you ever try to tell a joke in Minneapolis?"

This is no time for Republican candidate Norm Coleman to engage in levity, but somehow, he will have to ask the Minnesota independents to think through what was said at the funeral service. ("We must continue Paul's journey for justice in America. Say 'yes' for Paul Wellstone." "We can redeem the sacrifice of his life if you help us win this election." "If Paul Wellstone's legacy comes to an end, then our spirits will be crushed and we will drown in a river of tears.")

That last was Rick Kahn, a friend and former student of the late senator who was treasurer of his three senatorial campaigns. What would such interpreters of moral obligations have said if Senator Joe McCarthy had died in an airplane crash?

The Polls Live It Up

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 6

FRANK LAUTENBERG said he was really astonished that so few people had voted Democratic. Others' astonishment is of a different order—why did so many people in New Jersey vote for Mr. Lautenberg? But these are curiosities, in a scene absolutely dominated by the personal success of George W. Bush, who has scored what goes by the name of a historical upset, it being the convention for mid-term elections to express a little second-thinking about the party of the presidential incumbent.

"Well, if you don't know, you're probably here for amnesia."

The senator was quoted as saying that now Mr. Bush has to produce. We need leadership, he says, in the matter of foreign policy, and domestic policy. Tony Dolan, sometime speechwriter for President Reagan, suggests that the need for leadership is, to be sure, a need for George W. Bush to spread his wings even further, but a need also for the Democrats to acknowledge what he calls their "ghettoization" of their party. He means that the Democrats' inventory of concerns is now so closely bounded by a concern for lobbies, the Dems might cease to attract universal attention. Already it is suggested that Mr. Gephardt should step down as minority leader. And if you can believe it, Gary Hart, of days gone by, has suggested that he step up, from the discredited presidential candidate of 1988, to be a born-again candidate for 2004. Donna Rice, the consort who tripped up his campaign in '88, has now become a resolutely born-again crusader against pornography. Senator Hart said on Election Day that the quarrel he had in 1988 was with the press, not with the people. He means that the press ought not to have pursued his night life, and means also, one gathers, that the American people no longer care about candidates' night lives, as Mr. Clinton could affirm.

But, Senator Lautenberg says, President Bush has to prove himself because the economy is in a terrible mess. He does not adduce, from any of the public-policy positions taken by the Democratic leadership, what it is that ought to be done. The Democrats have never been strong on this point. Their strength is in redistribution. One class of Americans produce the goods, the Democrats serving as arbiters on who should have the income from that production. Mr. Daschle, the outgoing Democratic leader, has joined Mr. Lautenberg in declaring that the econ-

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omy is a mess, but once again, doesn't say what it is that needs to be done, other than to give more money to people who don't have it. The negative formulation of that is even more attractive: It is to take money away from those who have it. There is special satisfaction to be got from doing that, as Marie Antoinette learned.

But these are stray observations of the morning after. The figures are not absolutely in on whether more people actually voted Republican than Democratic, so we don't know whether the special services of a Katherine Harris will be needed—she solved that problem two years ago when the Democrats managed, on a sleepy day, to outnumber the Republicans. But this time, in edgy contests, the Republican vote was pretty assertively loyal. Florida had loomed as the great battleground between the two parties. Jeb Bush was the underdog as the manifestly younger brother of the president. And his opponent threatened to undo all the initiatives Governor Bush had taken to attempt to do something about education, beyond merely limiting class size. Everybody who was anybody in politics descended on that scene and wooed the electorate, who very early on in the evening backed Bush. One morning television interviewer asked the governor whether his daughter's misbegotten drug habits had injured him, and the thought passed that perhaps there was a backlash vote, people who thought the publicity given to the daughter's drug problem merited a backlash, to the effect that her young misfortunes were not to be taken as the fault of Governor Jeb.

And there seemed to be a backlash in Minnesota, where the majority of the voters did not interpret the tragic death of Paul Wellstone as commanding them to endorse the cause of socialism and isolationism. In California, Candidate William Simon made an extraordinary showing in a Democratic state in which the incumbent governor spent over $50 million, to win by a measly five points. But big spending didn't always pay off. In New York, Mr. Golisano spent his $50 million, proving absolutely nothing. A great relief is experienced by thousands of analysts whose fax machines were clogged with Golisano matter 15 times a day for two months, which reminds us that the end of campaigns produces a wonderful calm, even if only for a little while, especially enjoyable when the sense is that the storm has gone well out to sea.

Mush-Time

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 8

THE Democratic party is destabilized, while the GOP profits primarily from the impact of presidential leadership in a time of near-war. The *Washington Times* neatly describes possible courses of action, and the alternatives to them. Either the Democrats will adopt what is essentially a me-too agenda, or else they will settle for "stark philosophical opposition." Such a stance as, 150 years ago, the Whigs might have taken on the subject of slavery, but did not, awaiting a boiling point seized, not by their own party, but by Abraham Lincoln's.

The editorialist ticks off the wildcat issues the Democrats have played with, without striking oil. The single-payer health-care initiative tried out in Oregon didn't work, and the idea of possible privatization of Social Security didn't scare the voters away in North Carolina, where advanced by Elizabeth Dole, nor in New Hampshire, where endorsed by John Sununu. They can fight about tax schedules, but that becomes a fight over emphases, not over fundamental policy differences. If the Democrats said that they demanded a 95 percent tax of incomes over $100,000, that would be staking out grounds for a winner-take-all struggle. But if they did, the Republicans would win it all, so what would be the point?

Although it is true that the Democrats are without an ideological Decalogue, the edge had by the Republicans is just that, an edge, because Mr. Bush has not asked members of his party to do anything truly divisive. Even going to war is not truly divisive, because almost everybody has come to believe that we can't let Iraq continue to do everything it has been doing, without confrontation. We might have taken the opportunity to tell the United Nations that it cannot continue without confrontation. But we have chosen to put that off for another day, a shoot-out with the U.N., which would leave that august body writhing in equivocations about where the League of Nations was after it failed to move against Mussolini when he marched into Ethiopia.

But for all that the Republicans feel jaunty about their victory, they ought to spend a little time on the implications of their own me-tooism. The accounts of the victory in New York by George Pataki are absolutely outspoken on the point, which is that he won that victory by staged capitulations to left-causes, giving in to teachers unions, labor unions, going for deficit spending. In New York, the famous old Liberal party, which swaggered its way over decades knowing that no Democrat would win without its endorsement, managed actually to lose (by coming in with under 50,000 votes) its line on the ticket. The Conservative party still has the line, but by endorsing Pataki, has lost the "stark philosophical opposition," which had shown its ray of light for many years, even though it did not win many races. I note that Mr. Golisano, running on the Independent line, spent $70 million to get 14 percent of the state vote. Running for mayor of New York City on a pretty unmitigated Conservative line, spending $250,000, the conservative candidate in 1965 (it was I) got 13.4 percent of the vote—and that was in New York City alone, where Golisano got about 6 percent. Some would say that the candidate's personality will always figure heavily. If John Lindsay had been the Independent candidate, perhaps *he* would have won as once he did when only the Liberal party backed him.

So that the Republicans are, by their successes, forfeiting something, even as the Democrats will be doing by me-too policies. But then, as the editorialist writes, "Me-tooism is going to look very sensible to many Democrats. Pick and choose fights. Argue for a little more money, a little bit more compassion. Propose slightly different tax-cut schemes. Try to push environmental issues more vigorously. It is not a glamorous or heroic strategy but it allows most Democratic incumbents to survive."

This point was wittily taken by the *Washington Post*, which runs a one-paragraph-long editorial entitled, "Memo to: Rep. Richard Gephardt. From: Strategy Team. Re: Focus!"

His instructions as aspirant presidential nominee are: "1) Earn support of anti-NAFTA unions (Done!); 2) Campaign for Dem. candidates, accrue friendship/loyalty. (Done!); 3) Print RICHARD! Bumper stickers. (TBA); 4) Capture Osama (with bare hands)."

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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DAVID FRUM

Oil Smear

A YEAR ago, Hollywood was volunteering to join the war on terror. Last week, some of its leading luminaries defected to the other side.

A group of influential people from the entertainment world, including Laurie David, the wife of Larry David, creator of the *Seinfeld* series, is producing a series of advertisements intended to convince Americans that the real cause of terrorism is—wait for it—the Sports Utility Vehicle.

The group has written a series of commercials that parody government anti-drug messages. The commercials will show ordinary Americans looking out the windows of their cars, cheerfully announcing: "I helped hijack an airplane"; "I helped blow up a nightclub"; "I funded a terrorist training camp in a foreign country"—and then chorusing, "And we did it all just by driving our SUVs." The campaign's slogan: "The biggest weapon of mass destruction is parked in your driveway."

Scott Burns, the author of the "Got Milk?" ads, has volunteered to direct the ads, and Arianna Huffington, my friend and radio sparring partner, is raising the funds to broadcast them.

Like most people who don't drive them, I don't much care for SUVs. People with children, in my view, should face facts, accept that they are parents, not jungle adventurers, and save themselves $10,000 or more by buying a minivan.

But it's a free country, and we allow Americans to make much worse choices than the choice to drive a small truck. Yet somehow it is that most harmless of choices that most irks liberal Hollywood.

To do them credit, the anti-SUV campaigners do recognize one truth that many in Washington would prefer to ignore: the world's largest oil exporter, Saudi Arabia, is also one of the world's most active supporters of terror. Some of the money that Americans—and Europeans and East Asians—put into Saudi hands by driving cars and trucks, flying planes, or using plastic wrap is directed toward extremist and terrorist organizations and individuals. Anything that can be done to squeeze Saudi oil revenues is a good day's work, whether it be drilling for oil in Alaska, or opening more nuclear-power plants, or accelerating the development of the oilfields of Central Asia, or bringing pro-Western forces to power in the other big Persian Gulf states, Iraq and Iran.

And yet, something tells me that the authors of the anti-SUV ad campaign would object to all four of those anti-Saudi ideas. Their complaint is not really against the Saudis for misusing their revenues from oil; it is against Americans for using oil at all.

But this is a bum rap. Oil has financed Islamic terrorism in the Persian Gulf. But the Islamic terrorists in Kashmir and the Philippines pay their bills even without oil. And plenty of oil producers manage to sell their products without succumbing to the temptation to blow up skyscrapers. The United States buys more oil from Norway, for example, than it does from Kuwait, and yet the Norwegians have refrained from engaging in mass slaughter since the 11th century.

Even now, the United States produces nearly half the oil it uses, and more than 70 percent of America's imports come from countries not located in the Persian Gulf, principally Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela. Saudi Arabia provides only about 15 percent of America's oil imports.

The anti-SUV ad campaign draws its force from the environmentalist accusation that Americans are reckless, profligate users of energy. This accusation is false. Americans use less and less energy to produce more and more wealth. There are only 280 million Americans on a planet of more than 6 billion people. Yet those 280 million Americans produce nearly 25 percent of this planet's goods and services, and they use 42 percent less energy to produce an additional dollar of output than they did just 30 years ago.

Americans are as frugal on the road as they are in the factory and office. The average American uses less gasoline per person, less gasoline per car, and less gasoline per mile driven than he did in the late 1970s.

And Americans use their energy in ways increasingly protective of the environment. New cars in 2002 emit less pollution while driving than the average car did in 1970 while it was parked in the driveway *with the motor switched off*. (In those days gas tanks were not airtight, so the fuel evaporated.)

It's true that Americans use more gasoline than do people in, say, Western Europe. But then, America is a lot bigger than Western Europe. And if we're on the subject of terrorism, let's remember that one reason Europe is so weak-willed toward terror is its fear of the large Muslim populations within its borders. And there are so many Muslims in Europe because Europe must import workers to do the labor that would otherwise be left undone by the children Europeans are not having.

The United States, by impressive contrast, has the highest birth rate of any developed country—also higher, by the way, than China's. One reason for the robust American birthrate is the spaciousness of American homes: Nothing discourages procreation quite so much as the prospect of life with two children in a 500-square-foot apartment. I bet you have already figured out the last links in this chain of reasoning: American homes can be spacious because of American suburban sprawl—sprawl made possible by the big American car.

There are plenty of villains in the terrorism story. There are the terrorists themselves and the fanatics who devised their crazed ideology. There are the states and wealthy individuals who support and harbor terrorism. There are the weak-willed Western leaders who tempted our enemies to underestimate our strength and resolve. One could go on and on. But there is one person who deserves praise, not blame: the ordinary American citizen who—despite the threat of suicide bombers at the mall and bioterror in the mail slot, snipers at the Home Depot and bomb threats against the Golden Gate bridge—has continued to lead her normal, decent life: ferrying children to school, shopping for dinner, going to church and the blood bank and the polling place. If she chooses to do her rounds in an SUV, I say, God bless her. **NR**

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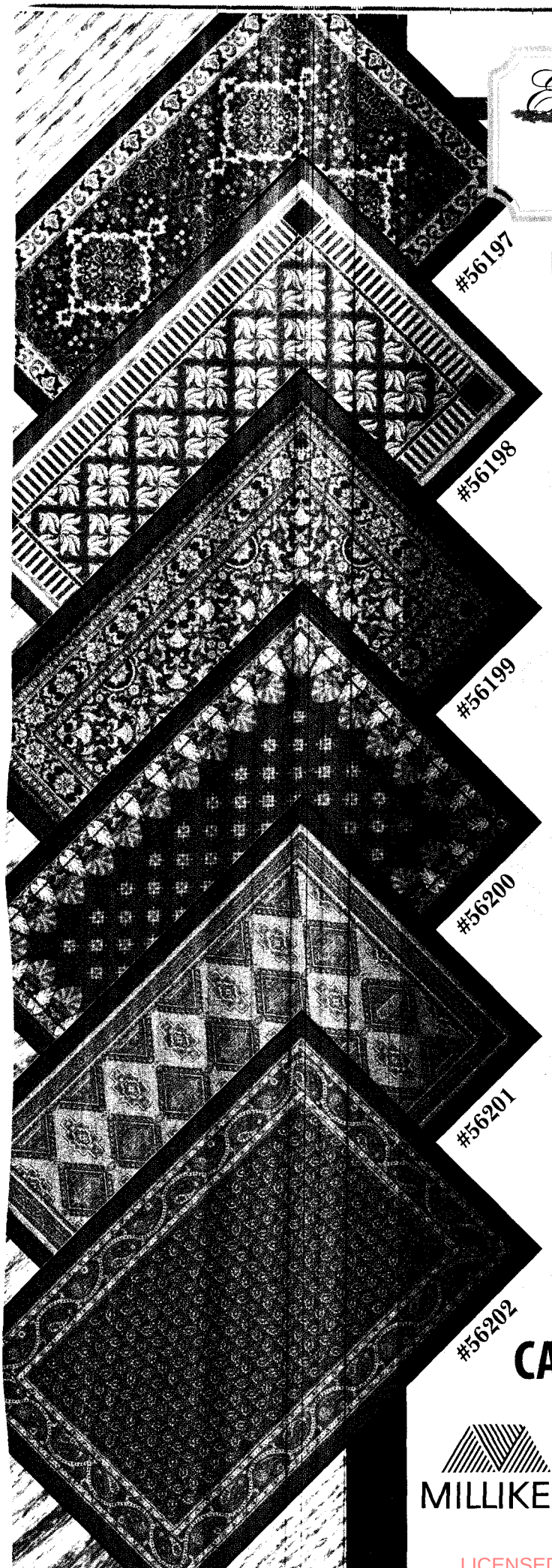

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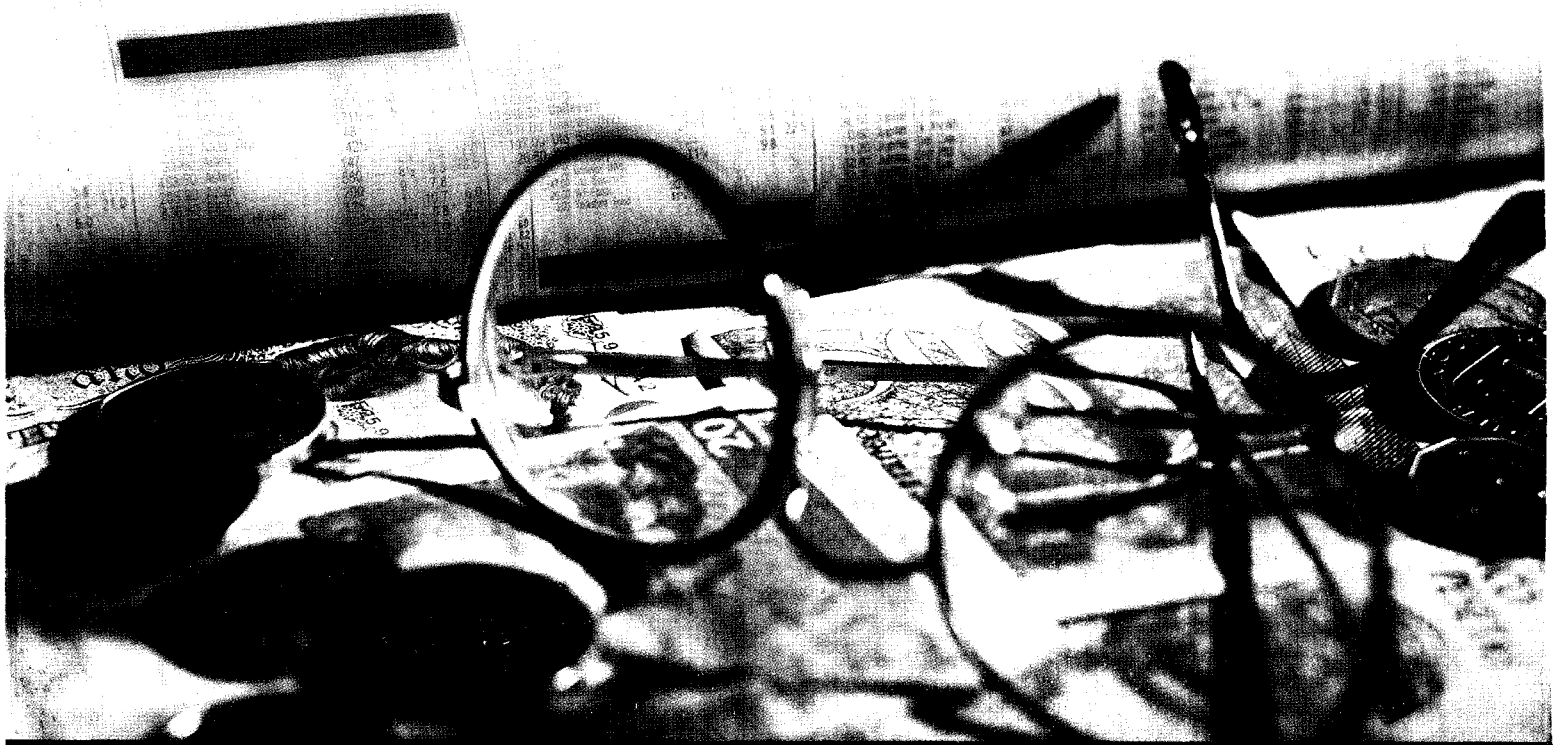
DO YOU WANT TO MAKE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE GIFTS TO CHARITY THIS YEAR?



Before you do, use our checklist:

Have you made last-minute decisions to meet the December 31 deadline?

When you give through DonorsTrust, you don't have to make hasty decisions. Whether you contribute cash or appreciated assets, opening a donor-advised account will immediately qualify you for the maximum charitable tax deduction. After that, you can request disbursements from your donor-advised account at your leisure.

Have you thought about setting up your own private foundation to save on taxes?

With DonorsTrust you'll get a larger tax break. Because DonorsTrust is an independent public charity, your contributions entitle you to the highest charitable tax deduction allowed by law. You'll also avoid the administrative burdens and expenses that go with running your own foundation.

Do you assume all charities are equally concerned about your intent?

Unfortunately, some organizations won't treat your charitable intent as seriously as you do. We will. Our mission is to support only those public charities that promote liberty through limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise. If that reflects your intent as a donor, you won't find a more reliable partner.

There's more to charity than giving.

For more details, visit our Web site or call us for a free informational brochure.

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